



*BOOKS lately Printed for CHARLES
RIVINGTON at the Bible and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-Yard.*

- I.  Review of the HISTORY of *ENGLAND*, in two Volumes. Vol. I. Containing the Titles and Pretensions of our several Kings, and the most remarkable Transactions and Occurrences in each Reign, from the Conquest to the Revolution. Vol. II. Containing the Transactions and Occurrences of the three last Reigns; *viz.* King *James II.* King *William III.* and Queen *Anne.*

II. AN ESSAY concerning MARRIAGE. Shewing, 1. The Preference of *Marriage* to a Single Life. 2. The Arguments for and against a Plurality of *Wives* and *Concubines*. 3. The Authority of *Parents* and *Governors* in regulating or restraining *Marriages*. 4. The Power of *Husbands*, and the Privileges of *Wives*. 5. The Nature of *Divorce*, and in what Cases it is allowable. 6. The Reasons of prohibiting *Marriage* within certain Degrees. 7. The Manner of contracting *Esponsals*, and what Engagements and Promises of *Marriage* are binding. 8. The Penalties incurr'd by forcible and clandestine *Marriages*, and the Consequences attending *Marriages* solemnized by the *Dissenters*. To which is added, An historical Account of the *Marriage Rites and Ceremonies* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and our *Saxon* Ancestors, and of most Nations in the World at this Day. The Second Edition.

Both by Mr. SALMON,



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AN IMPARTIAL
EXAMINATION
OF

Bishop BURNET's
History of his Own Times.

CONTAINING
AN ABRIDGMENT of that History,
and suitable REMARKS on every
material Paragraph.

Wherein is also given a fuller Account of
many considerable TRANSACTIONS in
the Reigns of King CHARLES II.
and King JAMES II. than has hitherto
been published.

V O L. II.

By Mr. SALMON.

L O N D O N;

Printed for CHARLES RIVINGTON at the Bible
and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and JOHN
CLARKE at the Bible under the Royal-Exchange.
M. DCC. XXIV.

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AN IMPARTIAL
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OF
BISHOP BURNETT'S
HISTORY OF THE
CONSTITUTION
AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY
AND CONSTITUTIONS OF GREAT
BRITAIN



VOL. II.
BY MR. J. L. MOY.
LONDON:
Printed for CHARLES RIVINGTON at the Ball
and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, and for
C. KNEELAND at the Bath under the Royal-Exchange.
MDCCLXXII.



AN EXAMINATION

OF
Bishop BURNET'S
HISTORY of his Own Times.

BOOK III.

ABRIDGMENT.



OUR Author begins his Third Book, with an Observation that the Designs of the Court against our Religion and Liberties, were now sufficiently evident; even in the King's Presence, he says, Absolute Dominion was magnify'd, and the Insolence of the House of Commons exclaim'd against: And his Majesty once told

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An EXAMINATION of

the Earl of *Essex*, he says, that he did not think himself King, so long as a Company of Fellows were prying into his Actions, and examining his Ministers, as well as his Accounts.

The King's Religion was suspected also, we are told, as his Brother's was declar'd; and it was apparent he intended to govern by the *French Model*, for that Count *Schombergh*, a *French General*, was sent for over to command the Army; and tho' he was a Protestant, and would at any other time have been acceptable to the *English*, yet it being look'd upon that he was sent from *France* to bring the Army under *French Discipline*, he was hated by the Nation, and not lov'd by the Court: He pers'd the King to declare himself the Head of the Protestants, our Author says, and to persuade his Brother to renounce Popery; but the King answer'd, that he knew his Brother was as stiff as a Mule. This General us'd to go to the *Hugonot Church* in *London*, and so was look'd upon as a Presbyterian by the Court, and unfit for their Purpose. The General, on the other hand, told our Author, that the King cou'd never effect any great Designs, he lov'd his Ease so much, and attended so little to his Affairs.

The Ministry were now divided; the Duke of *Bucks* was hated by all, and hated all the rest; but went without Reserve into the worst Designs of the Court; for which the King either lov'd or fear'd him so much that he had a deep Root with him. Lord *Clifford* was in the Duke's Interest, and was heated with the Design of introducing Popery, even to Enthusiasm, insomuch that he could scarce speak with Patience of the Church of *England* and the Clergy. Lord *Arlington*, believing that their Designs of introducing Popery could not now be effected, thought it necessary the King should make up Matters with his People the best he could. And

Shaftsbury

Shaftsbury was determin'd to save himself on any Terms.

The Treasury being exhausted, the Parliament was call'd in the Beginning of the Year 73, and the King in his Speech excus'd the issuing out the Writs for electing Members, during the Intervals of Parliament; but for the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, he told them he had seen the good Effects of it, and would stick to it. He demanded Supplies for carrying on the War, in which he was engag'd, he said, for the Honour of the Nation. And the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury*, enlarging upon these Heads, us'd that remarkable Expression, *Delenda est Carthago*, when he came to mention the War with the *Dutch*. And yet, while he made this base complying Speech, in Behalf of the Court and the *Dutch* War, he was privately in the Interest of another Party.

The Commons saw that Popery and Slavery were at the Bottom of all, our Author says, and came to a unanimous Resolution, that the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was against Law, and address'd the King to recall it. It was endeavour'd to divert them from this, by proposing an Enquiry into the issuing out the Writs; and the Court would gladly have sacrific'd *Shaftsbury*, he says, to have compounded the Matter; which he was so apprehensive of, that he immediately resolv'd to change Sides.

A Bill was brought into the House of Commons this Session, for disabling Papists to hold any Employment or Place of Trust, and requiring all Persons in Office to take the Test; which the Court took great Pains to prevent the passing, on Pretence of shewing Favour to the Dissenters, thereby hoping to set them and the Church Party at Variance: But all now united against Popery; and the Church

Party were so pleas'd with the Behaviour of the Dissenters in this Matter, that there were no more Votes or Bills brought in against them, even by that angry Parliament, which had formerly been so severe against the Dissenters.

In the House of Lords the Court endeavour'd to support the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and the Lord *Clifford* said all that could be said for it, but with great Heat, and many indecent Expressions; the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, on the contrary, to the Surprize of all, spoke against it; at which the King was highly offended; However, upon a Division, the Court had a Majority; but thirty of the most considerable Lords enter'd their Protest against it.

When this Affair came to be debated in the Cabinet, the Lords *Lauderdale* and *Clifford* were for the King's standing to his Declaration; and the Duke of *Bucks* and the Lord *Barclay* offer'd the King, if he would order the Army to march to Town, that they would take the Members out of both Houses, who oppos'd them; Duke *Lauderdale* offer'd to bring the Army out of *Scotland*, and seize upon *Newcastle*; and the Lord *Clifford* represented, that the People now saw through his Majesty's Designs, and he must either resolve to make himself Master at once, or be for ever subject to his People's Jealousies and Contempt; while the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington*, on the other Side, press'd his Majesty to give the Parliament Satisfaction; and then they undertook to procure him Money for the War, in which, if he was successful, he wou'd easily recover what he was oblig'd to part with in this Extremity; And the *French* Ambassador also advis'd his Majesty to comply with his Parliament, for that the *French* alone were not able to bear the whole Expence of the War.

The Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* also sent the Members of the House of Commons who were Pensioners to his Majesty, to persuade him not to insist on his Declaration; and to acquaint him, that the Lord *Clifford's* Speech had so enraged the House, that if the Lord *Shaftsbury*, who they believed spoke the King's Sense, as the other did the Duke's, had not restrained them, they had passed some very high Votes; and we are told, that this Management so changed the King, that he determined to displace Lord *Clifford*, and moderated his Anger against *Shaftsbury*. Some of these Particulars, our Author tells us, he had from Duke *Lauderdale*, and what related to *Clifford*, *Titus* told him. The Lord *Clifford* finding he was to lose the white Staff, desired the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been instrumental in procuring it for him, that he would now use his Interest to procure it for one of his Friends; and Sir *Thomas Oshorn* was pitched upon, whose Estate was much in Debt. He had been always a high Cavalier, and missing Preferment us'd to oppose the Court, and was one of Lord *Clarendon's* greatest Enemies: He was a plausible Speaker, took great Liberties in Discourse, but had no Regard to Truth, or so much as the Appearance of it; but he was a positive undertaking Man, and gave the King great Ease by his Assurances that all Things would go according to his Mind the next Session, and when he was disappointed never wanted an Excuse; whereby he obtained the highest Degree of the King's Confidence, and preserved it the longest of any that ever served him.

The King at length gave up the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and ordered the Seal affixed to it to be broke: This having given some Satisfaction to the Commons, and the Court having brib'd the most considerable Members that opposed them, and promised

to concur in the Test Act, they gave the King twelve hundred thousand Pounds towards the War. This our Author thinks was the best Session of that long Parliament, the Church Party shewing a noble Zeal for their Religion, and the Dissenters acquiring a Reputation by their Submission and Concurrence with them. The Duke of York after this Session delivered up all his Commissions to the King, and wept upon the Occasion, while the King shewed no manner of Concern, we are told: However, he appointed the Duke's Creatures Commissioners of the Admiralty. Though the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had lost the King's Favour, it was thought proper, our Author says, not to lay him aside, till it appeared what Service he could do in another Session of Parliament: Prince *Rupert* had the Command of the Fleet this Year, but the Captains being in the Duke's Interest crossed all his Designs, so that little could be expected from the Fleet: There happened two or three Battles indeed that were well fought on both Sides, our Author observes, but there was nothing decisive, for the *French* Squadron never engaged, which made People cry out, that the *French* put the *English* and *Dutch* upon the destroying one another, while they took Care to preserve themselves.

R E M A R K S.

Whatever Designs or arbitrary Measures the Court were engaged in at this Time, it must be observed, that this was during a Whig Administration; and according to our Author himself, none ever endeavoured to render the King more absolute, or more boldly and openly advised and attempted the Destruction of the Constitution, than those great Whig Patriots, *Buckingham*, *Lauderdale*, and *Shaftsbury*, who
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now governed all: To them must be ascribed the League with *France* and the *Dutch* War: To them the shutting up the Exchequer, and the dispensing with the Penal Laws. These were universally opposed by the Members of the Church of *England*, and the Body of the Nation; therefore if the Kingdom was in that imminent Danger of Popery and Slavery, it apparently proceeded from the Whigs and Dissenters, who, no Doubt, thought to establish themselves as well as Popery, upon the Ruin of the established Church; and therefore I shall leave it to them to defend those bold Encroachments on our Laws and Religion their daring Leaders made; and happy was it for us, that we had then Men of that Integrity and Honour in the Houses of Parliament. Can any one suppose, that these Gentlemen were so corrupted and bribed, as our Author would have us believe, when he says, *every Man's Price was known*? Possibly since the World began, there never was to be found a Body of Men less subject to be corrupted. It is evident, there was a very great Majority among the Commons, whom neither Places nor Pensions could so far influence, as to induce them to compliment the Ministry with their Religion or Liberties. If this Parliament deserved the Name of Pensioners, what should we have thought of them, if they had been so entirely and universally abandoned to their private Interests, and so void of all publick Spirit, that they durst have denied nothing that was asked, and had never opposed the Court for many Years, by one single Resolution; if they had never objected to the raising or keeping Standing Armies on Foot, composed either of Natives or Foreigners: If they had never opened their Mouths against raising any Sums, how extravagant soever, and had never demanded an Account of the Money they raised, or ever presented one Address

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against any destructive Scheme whatever? then indeed would they richly have deserved the Title of Pensioners; but when we see them observing one uniform steady Conduct, always endeavouring to support the Constitution, and guard our Religion and Liberties against the bold Encroachments of the most daring Ministers: When we see them constantly and joyfully joining with the Court, while the Administration kept within the Bounds of Law, and then as strenuously, but submissively, defending their legal Rights in a parliamentary Way (not by force of Arms as the Saints of old) but by Reason and good Sense, surely the vile Things this Son of Detraction has suggested of them, must retort upon himself, and render him contemptible and detested by all Posterity.

To proceed; how base a Part did that great Patron of the Whigs, *Shaftsbury*, act, when he saw what a noble Stand the Commons made? He that had been the forwardest in every pernicious Project, treacherously abandoned the Court, and became the grand Incendiary, charging his Majesty (whose greatest failing had been his harbouring and countenancing this insidious Minister) with those very Counsels and Violations of the Laws, that he himself had been the Author of: And here it may not be amiss to give the Character of a Man, who threw the Nation into such a Flame, and brought so many Calamities upon his native Country, that not only the present, but future Generations, may have Reason to curse his Memory: It was given by one who had a perfect Knowledge of him, and who was very well qualified for such an Undertaking.

This Earl, he says, was of a most restless and unquiet Temper, and naturally base and treacherous, and seemed to take Pains to appear more impious and vicious than he really was: He did not only value himself

himself upon breaking through the Laws and Constitution of his Country, but expressed the utmost Contempt of them: He despised vulgar Sins: It was the Singularity and Extravagance of the Crime that endeared it to him. In his declining Years he entertained himself with a Remembrance of his youthful Vices, and when he was Lord Chancellor, publicly frequented the Stews; but the Vice that seemed to have the greatest Ascendant over him, was the Pleasure he took in seeing other People miserable: He would sometimes postpone his other Vices, and undergo any Hardships or Dangers to disturb the publick Peace, and set the Nation in a Flame; and Nature seemed to have furnished him with a Body not unsuitable to the Deformities of his Mind: He had a pale livid Complexion, a distorted Countenance, and very bad Eyesight: He had a malicious envious Aspect, something threatening usually in his Looks, but sometimes abject and fawning.

In the beginning of the Civil Wars, in Hopes to raise his Fortune, he followed the Royal Standard; but soon after, without any Regard to his Honour or Duty to his Prince, he deserted to the Rebels with his whole Regiment; and as they split into many Factions, he embraced and betrayed them all in their Turns, and was equally an Enemy to the Royal and the Rebel Cause, always shifting as his private Interest directed, and a Friend to none but himself: An Atheist and a Fanatick at once, and seldom out of a Plot, whether the King or the Rebels were in Power: He pretended to be a rigid Presbyterian at the beginning of the War, but when the Independents had usurped the Government, he became an eminent Haranguer amongst them; and flattered *Cromwell* in a most surfeiting manner, to whom his Craft, and Perfidiousness, and consummate

mate Hypocrisy render'd him so useful, that he was admitted to his Privy-Council, and was generally employed by him, when he had any base Design upon the Anvil; but having made his Addresses to *Cromwell's* Daughter, and being rejected by him, he was from thenceforward in every Plot against him: He was inexorable in his Resentments, unfaithful in his Friendships, and cruel in his Revenge; But among all these bad Qualities, his Munificence to his Servants and Dependants must be acknowledged; and perhaps nothing more contributed to his Safety, and frequent Escapes from the Hands of publick Justice, and the Resentments of those he had injured, than his Liberality to those about him, never having the ill Fortune to be betrayed by his Servants.

He was ambitious of being esteemed the *Machiavel* of his Age; and to this Vanity would he have willingly sacrificed his Life and Estate, and every Thing that was dear to him; nor could he conceal his Passion to be thought a consummate Politician; even at Table he was perpetually talking of the Wisdom of his own Conduct, and preferring it to that of Cardinal *Richlieu* or *Mazarine*; and if he imagined he had done any publick Mischief, and reduced the Government to distress, he would weary his Domesticks with a relation of his own Merits on such an Occasion: This was a Vanity that never forsook him as long he lived. He must be allowed to have a popular and voluble Eloquence, and a sharp and quick Wit, but he was unsteady in his Judgment: His Advice to the King was ever full of Design and Treachery; even when it appeared honest and safe, he was seldom without some secret Reserve of Mischief in his Heart; and while he was Prime Minister, very few Things were transacted, which had not a Tendency to the Ruin of the

the Publick: When he was turned out, he was constantly surrounded with a Herd of Atheists and Fanaticks, and with the Industry of a *Cataline*, conspired the Destruction of the State: His principal Drift seemed to be to render his Majesty's Administration and Counsels suspected to his Subjects, hoping thereby to alienate their Affections from him, and thereby once more revive and vindicate the good old Cause.

A B R I D G M E N T.

The Duke of *York* now made his Addresses, we are told, to the Lady *Bellasis*, Widow to the Lord *Bellasis's* Son: She was a zealous Protestant, it seems, and a Lady of great Vivacity, but very little Beauty. The Duke had given her a Promise under his Hand, our Author says, to marry her, which when the Lord *Bellasis*, her Father in Law heard, being a zealous Papist, and apprehending this would ruin their Design of introducing Popery, he acquainted the King with it, who reprimanded the Duke for attempting to marry a second Time so much beneath him; and the Lady was so threaten'd, that she relinquished the Promise, and gave up the Note the Duke had given her, but kept an attested Copy of it, as she told our Author. A Marriage was afterwards propos'd between the Duke and the Archduchess of *Inspruck*; but the Empress happening to die, the Emperor married her himself. The Duke then made his Addresses to the Duke of *Modena's* Daughter, which the Court of *Rome* at first oppos'd, because she was not to be allowed a publick Chapel; but that Court yielded up this Point at length, and the Duke was married by Proxy, and she was brought to *England* through *France* by the Earl of *Peterborough*.

A Treaty

A Treaty of Peace was about this Time opened at *Cologne* by the Mediation of *Sweden*, whither the Earl of *Sunderland*, Sir *Leonil Jenkins*, and Sir *Joseph Williamson*, went as Plenipotentiaries from the Court of *England*. The Earl of *Sunderland*, our Author tells us, was a Gentleman of a quick Apprehension, and his Notions always good, but living very high, often went into the Counsels of the Court to support himself, and changed Sides often, with little Regard to Religion or the Interest of his Country. The Bishop thought he had a superior Genius to all the Men of Business he ever knew; and observes, that he dextrously insinuated himself into the Confidence of three Princes, who had very different Views; but though he was esteemed for his Parts, his frequent changing made him little depended on at last.

The Treaty of *Cologne* was soon broken off, by the Emperor's seizing on *Furstenburgh*, the Elector's Plenipotentiary at that Treaty; and *Maeſtricht* was taken this Summer by the *French*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* distinguished himself, our Author observes.

About this Time (*viz. Anno 1673.*) our Author came up from *Scotland*, he says, to publish his Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, leaving *Scotland* under a general Discontent, the Administration being both violent and corrupt, and formed after the *French* Model; the People were oppressed by Impositions upon Salt, Tobacco, &c. and the Duke of *Lauderdale's* Insolence, and engrossing every Thing to himself and Friends; and his Wife setting all Things to sale, made Discontents run very high in that Kingdom.

Duke *Lauderdale* upon our Author's coming up enquired of the State of *Scotland*; and particularly, whether if the King needed an Army from thence

to reduce *England*, it might not be depended on, which our Author thought not. Lord *Lauderdale* said, he was of another Opinion, for the Hopes of *English* Spoils would bring them all in; But our Author told him, none would now venture to trust the King, since he had given up the Declaration he had so lately said he would stick to. *Lauderdale* replied, *hinc illa Lachryma*, but the King was forsaken in that Matter, and none would stand by him, but Lord *Clifford* and himself. With this Conversation, our Author says, *he was struck*, for now he saw plainly into the desperate Designs of the Court, which he thought were as foolish as wicked, for *Scotland* would never have assisted in subduing *England*; and he considered, if he ought not to have endeavoured to give the King a juster Account of the State of his Affairs, for the Duke and Duchess of *Lauderdale* despised all he could say to them, and only made him great Offers, if he would be wholly theirs; but this made no Impression on him.

However, Lord *Lauderdale* carry'd him to the King, and propos'd the licensing his *Memoirs*; and the King was pleas'd to read part of them himself, and particularly the Account he gave of the ill Conduct of the Bishops, which gave Rise to the Civil Wars, and said he was pleas'd with it; and seem'd much offended with the present *English* Bishops for opposing a Toleration.

Sir *Ellis Leighton* afterwards introduc'd our Author to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who gave him such a Character to the King, that his Majesty ever after took much Notice of him, and when he heard him preach, spoke of his Sermon in such a Strain as drew much Envy on him, order'd him to be a sworn Chaplain, and admitted him to a private Audience of above an Hour long, wherein the King spoke

spoke much of the Authority of the Church; but our Author convinc'd him that there was a wide Difference between an Authority of Government in indifferent Things, and Infallibility: The King complain'd much of the Bishops neglecting the true Concerns of the Church, and following the Court, and engaging themselves in Parties.

This was a Topick not very disagreeable to our Author, it may be imagin'd; however he diverted the Discourse, he tells us, and took the Freedom to reprove his Majesty for his leud Course of Life; which the King was not displeas'd with, but thank'd him for it, and condemn'd himself for some things, such as living with another Man's Wife; but other things he excus'd, and said he thought God would not damn a Man for a little irregular Pleasure. During our Author's Stay at Court, *he says he was us'd in so particular a Manner*, that he was consider'd as one growing up to a high Degree of Favour.

We are told also, that he receiv'd a Message from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, intimating, that he would be glad to see him; and he was receiv'd, he says, very graciously: But our Author very bluntly enter'd into a Discourse with him concerning his Religion: Whereupon the Duke talk'd of the Necessity of having but one Church, of the Swarms of Sectaries that had arisen since the Reformation, and the Rebellions and Bloodshed that it had occasion'd; mention'd his Father's Death, and that of *Mary Queen of Scots*; and insisted much on some Passages in *Heylin*, which shew'd upon what base Motives and Principles the Reformers enter'd upon a Change of Religion: To all this our Author answer'd in such a manner as best suited the Duke's Temper and Capacity: And the Duke express'd so much Pleasure in his Conversation, that he order'd him to come often to him privately:

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The Duke would have talk'd to him of the Affairs of *Scotland*, he says, but our Author would turn the Discourse still to Matters of Religion; which his Royal Highness endeavour'd gently to break off, *for he was not at all rough in private Conversation*, only said he had rather he would let those Matters alone, for tho' he might be too hard for him, and silence him, yet he would never convince him. Still our Author persisted that he could not answer it to God or the World, to leave the Communion he was baptized in, and disobey his Father's last Advice, by suffering himself to be seduc'd, without hearing what the Protestant Divines had to say, or examining into the Matter. He reply'd, he had propos'd some things to *Sheldon*, and other Bishops, by whose Answers he found that they came much nearer the Church of *Rome*, than the young Divines. Our Author prevail'd with the Duke at length, he says, to let him bring Dr. *Stillingsfleet* to him, who discours'd with him upon the Pope's Pretensions to a Power over all temporal Princes; and the Duke seeming not to believe some historical Facts they had mention'd, they desir'd he would send for some Priest; but he declin'd it, saying it would make a Noise, and told them he only desir'd to follow his Conscience, and should not impose his Religion on others, or endeavour to alter the Establish'd Religion. Our Author proceeded to warn him of the Difficulties his Religion would bring him into, but he seem'd to rely upon the Submission and Passive Obedience of the Church of *England*; to which our Author told him there was no trusting, *for there would be Distinctions and Reserves found, even by them who had asserted these Points most*; and when they saw they were in Danger of being undone first, and burnt afterwards, they wou'd endeavour to save themselves, for Interest and Self-Preservation were

powerful

powerful Motives: Whereupon he declar'd much against Persecution. But our Author told him, *that the Words of Princes were so little regarded by themselves, that they could not expect that others should regard them*; and though his Priests might at present think fit to conceal that Point from him, he was sure the Principles of their Church would carry him to all the Extremities of Extirpation; and produc'd a Volume of Judge *Grooke's*, wherein King *James I.* is said to pray, that if any of his Descendants should alter their Religion, he begg'd that God would take them out of the World. But neither did this make any Impression on the Duke, he says: However, his Royal Highness us'd him with great Freedom, and shew'd him his Journal, and a thin Volume wherein the Duchess had begun to write his Life, which our Author says was done with a great deal of Spirit: The Duke told him also he would let him have his Journals, that he might compose a History from them. He allow'd our Author also to speak of his irregular Life; and demanding how such a Course could agree with the Zeal he shew'd for Religion, the Duke reply'd, *Must a Man have no Religion, unless he be a Saint?* but seem'd to like him the better for the Freedom he took. And our Author might have had what he pleas'd, he was told, if he would be a little more tender in the Matter of Religion; and as the See of *Durham* was vacant, it would be no difficult Matter for him to obtain it; *but our Author was not to be mov'd by any such Views.* The Duke of *Buckingham* advis'd him, he says, if he was resolv'd not to comply with the Court, to withdraw in time; for that Princes look'd upon their Favours as no ordinary Things, and expected great Submissions in Return; and he would feel ill Effects of the Favour that had been shewn him, if he did not use some Compliances.

His

His Royal Highness, he says, was much piqued at the Proceedings of the Parliament for opposing the Consummation of his Marriage with the Princess of *Modena*, unless she would change her Religion. Whereupon our Author told him, that he look'd upon it as a fatal thing, that the Commons should thus affront him; for they would do all that lay in their Power to secure themselves against his Resentment.

R E M A R K S.

What Pity it is the World was not sooner acquainted with this Matrimonial Contract between the Duke of *York* and the Lady *Bellasis*? Wou'd not the Commons have certainly urg'd this against the concluding the Match with the Popish Princess of *Modena*, if they had known it? for by this they wou'd not only have defeated that Match, but married the Duke to a zealous Protestant; for if this Contract was in Words of present Time, no subsequent Marriage cou'd be valid, such Contracts not being releasable by the Parties. But here has our Author left us in an eternal Suspence, when he cou'd have satisfy'd us with all the Ease imaginable: Had he been but half so inquisitive as he seems to be upon much more trivial Occasions, he wou'd have ask'd the Lady, when she told him she had an attested Copy of this Contract, whether it was couch'd in Words of present or future Time; for if the former, it must have been a compleat Marriage, and the Issue of any subsequent Marriage illegitimate: To suppose it a Promise on one Side, wou'd be ridiculous; for Promises of this nature, unless mutual, every one knows are not binding; and if the Promise had been only made on the Duke's Part, there was no Occasion for releasing or giving it up; but I

take it for granted, it was only a Promise of future Marriage, in the Bishop's Opinion, or else we had heard of it upon another Occasion, namely, when the Birth of the Chevalier came in question, if there was any manner of Foundation for this formal Story. But this, it must be acknowledg'd, was a Piece of secret History our other Historians were perfectly unacquainted with.

The odious Impressions our Author endeavours to give us of Duke *Lauderdale's* Administration, after he has given him so great a Character in his Dedication, presented this very Year 1673, must surely reflect more Ignominy upon himself than upon that Nobleman: To see a Clergyman, who pretended to an uncommon Sanctity, and Zeal for his holy Religion, speaking thus with a double Tongue, and so grossly contradicting himself, will make the World believe that all his Pretences to Piety were but hypocritical Arts to screw himself into Preferment, and that there can be no manner of Dependence either on the Characters he has given, or the Facts he has related.

As to what our Author says Duke *Lauderdale* told him, that the Ministry deserted the King, and that none but himself and Lord *Clifford* advis'd his Majesty's supporting his Declaration of Indulgence; we are inform'd from other Writers that none more strenuously oppos'd his Majesty's cancelling that Declaration, than Earl *Shaftsbury*, who told his Majesty he would answer for the Success of it; and when the King took the Resolution to recall it, complain'd that his Majesty had forsaken him in an Affair wherein he had promis'd to stand by him, and said, *that that Man who forsook himself, deserv'd to be forsaken*; and the very next Morning after the King had taken that Resolution indeed *Shaftsbury* appear'd in the House of Lords the most zealous against the Court of any Man. But

But it appears that *Shaftsbury* was as firm to his Majesty as Lord *Landerdale*, or *Clifford*, or any of the Cabal, till the King discover'd they were like to ruin him, by the arbitrary Measures they had put him upon, and resolv'd to listen to that loyal Parliament who alone cou'd extricate him out of the Difficulties they had involv'd him in: Then indeed *Shaftsbury* endeavour'd to reconcile himself to his old Friends the Whigs, by betraying his Master's Secrets, and pretending the Measures he had put him upon were only to render him odious to the Nation, and thereby promote the Designs of the Faction: And consequently, what our Author pretends the Lord *Landerdale* told him, that no Body wou'd stand by his Majesty, and advise his maintaining the Declaration of Indulgence, but himself and Lord *Clifford*, is evidently false.

But so exceeding publick-spirited does our Author appear upon Duke *Landerdale's* refusing to listen to his wise and moderate Counsels, that he propos'd to himself to procure an Audience of his Majesty, and shew him how he was misled and abus'd by his High Commissioner, in the Representations he had made of the State of *Scotland*: However, he tells us he did accept of Lord *Landerdale's* Offer to introduce him to his Majesty, and get his Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton* licens'd; which 'tis presum'd he wou'd not have done, if he had continu'd in the Resolution to betray him: There is no doubt to be made that our Author had by some means work'd himself into Duke *Landerdale's* Favour, and that the Duke did recommend him to the King as a very hopeful young Fellow; but that his Majesty should complain to this young Parson of the Conduct of his Bishops at first Sight, is something extraordinary. It is a little odd too, that this holy Man *Burnet* shou'd be so espous'd and recommended by the

greatest Libertine of the Age the Duke of *Bucks*: Indeed that a Man of our Author's flaming Zeal, who was a perfect Devotee to the Protestant Religion, shou'd reprove both the King and his Royal Highness, for countenancing and adhering to the Church of *Rome*, may seem credible to some; but that at his first or second Audience he should reprove them for whoring, and lying with other Mens Wives, was such a Piece of heroick Rashness as is hardly to be parallell'd. What Truth there is in what he relates of these private Conferences, must be believ'd or disbeliev'd according to the Opinion the Reader entertains of his Veracity, and by considering the Circumstances our Author was in at that time.

If he was really that seraphick mortified Creature he represents himself, and had no manner of View towards Preferment, it is not so much to be wondered at, if he neglected the Advice of the Duke of *Bucks*, and refused to shew the least Compliance or Connivance at these Princes Errors; but surely it manifests an uncommon Goodness and Condescension in these Princes, that they would permit our Author to be so free with them, and so often suffer themselves to be reprov'd by a young *Scotch* Prophet: And should we for once admit what our Author declares upon this Occasion to be true, whether his Behaviour does not express more Arrogance and Self Conceit, than it does Piety or Prudence, I submit to the Judgment of all. He must either suppose the *English* Clergy destitute of that Piety and Zeal for Religion, which was so conspicuous in him, or that they wanted Talents for so great an Undertaking, as the Conversion of the Royal Brothers, or he could never have had Arrogance enough to think, that a little *Scotch* Parson, hardly ever heard of before in the World, should upon appearing at Court,

Court, be able to effect so great a Work. For my part, though it must be admitted, that his Assurance was very great, I cannot work myself up to a Belief, that ever he reproved his Majesty and his Royal Highness in the manner he relates: He might indeed dream or meditate of such an Undertaking, and imagine he should acquire everlasting Fame among the Godly, if he could procure the Reputation of having performed so heroical an Undertaking. But impartial People will be apt to conclude, that he really mistook his Dreams, or waking Whimsies for real Facts, and had related them so often, that he came at length to believe them true himself, and so accordingly recorded them in this worthy History. But however that Matter be, it is apparent, that what Interest our Author ever had at Court, or with Duke *Lauderdale*, he lost it all by his immoderate Vanity, and most detestable Ingratitude. Duke *Lauderdale*, whom he acknowledges to be so great a Friend and Patron to him, he abused, and calumniated, and betrayed his most important Secrets, which even drew on the Duke an Impeachment of High Treason: The private and intimate Conversation he pretends he was admitted to by his Majesty and the Royal Family, he immediately betrayed, and made common Town Talk, with such Flourishes and Additions as he saw fit, and therefore no wonder he was soon kicked out of the Court. Such Bablers are not fit to be admitted into private Families; but that a Man who professed such a Zeal for Religion, and in whom Princes had expressed such Confidence, that they confessed to him not only their open but secret Faults, should afterwards divulge the Conversation, endeavour to blast their Memories, and represent them in the most odious Colours; this, surely, must make all Men abhor the Memory of this pretended Zealot.

Out of his own Mouth does he appear to have broken through all the Ties of Gratitude and common Decency, and abused that Confidence, which, he says, the greatest Princes indulged him in.

But there were some other Things so remarkable in the Conversation our Author pretends to have had with the Duke, as must shock most of his Readers: One is, that Passage where he tells the Duke, that *those who had preached up Passive Obedience most, would not fail to find out Distinctions and Reserves when any Danger appeared.* Now if those Gentlemen (among whom I presume he includes himself) did really preach to their People in such Terms, as the Audience took to be absolute; and that in the Language of the Statute Book, they from their Sermons concluded it was unlawful to take up Arms against the King, *on any Pretence whatsoever*; whatever Reserves the Preachers might have to themselves, I cannot but detest such equivocal Discourses; for here they, in order to make their Interest at Court, or upon some other sordid View, preach to the Laity in such Language, as they are induced to believe, they ought to part with their Estates, their Lives, and Liberties, rather than oppose their Prince; but when it comes to the Point, those artful Casuists, by Vertue of their Reserves and Distinctions, slip their Necks out of the Collar, and leave the poor undistinguishing Multitude to perish in the Errors they have led them into; nay, perhaps, they will be the first that shall appear in Rebellion against their lawful Prince, and prosecute the deluded People for adhering to the Doctrine themselves have taught them.

But what is the use of Words, unless to declare our Meaning? Where a Man shall impose one Meaning upon his Audience, and reserve another to himself, were it not much better he was dumb? It is these

these equivocal ambiguous Expressions, that have so often set the World together by the Ears; either let a Man speak out, or say nothing; and not when he is paraphrasing upon the sacred Oracles, and denominates his Discourse *the Word of God*, or pretends, that what he says is deducible from it, be playing Tricks with his Congregation, and contriving to lay heavy Burdens upon his Hearers, which he never designs to submit to himself, or touch with one of his Fingers.

The other Passage I shall mention is a piece of ill Manners, which I cannot believe even Dr. Burnet could be guilty of, though we have it from his own Mouth; namely, *that he told the Duke of York to his Face, that the Words of Princes were so little regarded by themselves, that they could not expect others should regard them.* Is it possible to believe our Author was Fool-hardy enough to say this? for my part, it seems to me, that he had collected what he imagined might have been proper for the King and the Duke to have heard, and to indulge his Vanity, has recorded it of himself, that *he was the Man*, whose Zeal for Religion was such, that it made him despise all Hazards, and slight the noblest Preferments, rather than forbear to rebuke Vice, even in the greatest Princes: This is the Character he has drawn of himself, and which he hoped would be perpetuated among the Brethren.

'Tis remarkable also, that our Author was no ordinary Prophet in those Days, for he certainly foretold the Revolution, when he observed, how fatal the Opposition of the Commons would be to the Duke: What else he could mean by their securing themselves against his Royal Highness's Revenge, is not easy to be imagined; but it is common in North Britain, it seems, to have what they call the second Sight, and foretell future Events.

ABRIDGMENT.

Duke *Lauderdale* going down into *Scotland* to hold a Parliament, desired our Author to go with him; but he excusing himself, upon Account of his being obliged to attend the Licensing of his Book, the Duke entertained a great Jealousy of him; for he could not endure, that any of the *Scotch* Nation should apply themselves to the King, or his Royal Highness, but through him; and the Duchess questioning Mr. *Burnet* concerning the Discourse he had with his Majesty and the Duke of *York*, he told her, that he talked with the Duke about Religion, and the King about his Course of Life.

Our Author some Time after followed Duke *Lauderdale* into *Scotland*, he says, and arrived at *Edinburgh* the Night before the Parliament met, and *Lauderdale* finding a Party form'd against him in the Parliament, fancied our Author was at the bottom of it, and acquainted the King that he had been the Incendiary, and that he retained so much of his Uncle *Waristoun's* Temper, that if he was not subdued, he would embroil all his Affairs. The King, our Author says, easily believed Things of this Nature, as his Ministers represented them, without hearing the other Side, and was used to say, that all Apologies were Lyes: To which a certain Gentleman once replied, that then he would always believe the first Lye. But what encreased the King's ill Opinion of our Author, was, that when Duke *Lauderdale* returned to Court, he acquainted his Majesty, that he had boasted to the Duchess of the Freedom he had used with his Majesty concerning his Course of Life; and our Author honestly acknowledges, he was to blame in using such Freedom with the Duchess of *Lauderdale*, but he was surprized by her

her Question, and he could not bring himself to tell a Lye.

Before the meeting of the Parliament, the King was advised by the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington*, to send the Duke of *York* from Court, and his Majesty ordered them to move it to him, which the Duke took so heinously, that he would never forgive any of them, but moved his Majesty to take the Seals from *Shaftsbury*, and they were thereupon given to *Finch* the Attorney General, afterwards Earl of *Nottingham*. He was a Man of Probity, our Author says, and understood the Law, but his much admired Eloquence was laboured and affected; and he had no Knowledge in foreign Affairs, though he would be always talking of them: He thought himself obliged to justify the Court in the Debates in the House of Lords, but he did it rather like a Pleader than a Senator: He was an uncorrupt Judge, and would resist the strongest Applications made to him in his Court, even by the King, though he could no where else: He filled those Livings that were in his Gift with Men of worth, and obliged them all to Residence.

In this Parliament the Commons addressed his Majesty to remove Lord *Lauderdale* from his Councils and Presence for ever; and being about to proceed against the Duke of *Bucks*, he moved to be heard in the House, where he justified himself, and ascribed all the ill Advice that had been given to others, but chiefly to Lord *Arlington*; intimating also, that the King and the Duke were the Root of all, by which he entirely lost the King's Favour. Lord *Arlington* also appeared before the Commons, and excused himself, without throwing any Blame upon the King, and was acquitted; and resigning his Post of Secretary of State, was made Lord Chamberlain.

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The House of Commons were resolved, our Author tells us, to compel the King to make Peace with the *Dutch*: On the contrary, his Majesty would have done any Thing, and parted with any Persons to have procured Money to carry on the War; but he found *he was now at the Mercy of the States*, and therefore the Lord *Arlington* procured the *Spanish* Minister to prevail with the States to propose a Peace; and that it might have some Shew of being begged and bought, he proposed, that the States should offer the King a Sum of Money, which should be made over to the Prince of *Orange*, for the Payment of the Debt the King owed him. *Rouviigny* the Minister of *France* pressed the King to give his Parliament Satisfaction in Matters of Religion; to which we are told, the King answered, that if it was not for his Brother's Folly (*La Sottise de mon Frere*) he should get out of all his Difficulties. The *French* King also, we are told, was desirous to get out of the War, and began to propose more moderate Terms than he had done at *Utrecht*; and the States were much set on procuring a Peace with England.

The Prince of *Orange* having been very successful, and now in high Credit with the States General, procured the States to make Application to the King, in the Stile of those who begg'd for Peace; though it was very visible, our Author says, they could have forced it; and so a Peace was concluded upon the same Terms with that made at *Breda*, only with an Offer of two or three hundred thousand Pounds towards his Majesty's Expences in the War.

The King upon meeting with *Rouviigny*, after he had signed the Peace, told him, that he had been doing that, which went more against his Heart, than the losing his right Hand, but nothing would

content the Commons, or draw Money from them; and he had been press'd by Lord *Arlington* to sign it till he was weary of his Life. *Rouvigny* told the King, that notwithstanding this, his Master, the *French* King, he did not doubt, would submit his Pretensions to him, and make him Mediator of the Peace between him and his Confederates, which gave the King great Satisfaction. And thus, says our Author, the King got out of the War, very little to his Honour, being unjust in the beginning, and managed throughout with ill Conduct and bad Success, inasmuch, that he lost his Credit both at Home and Abroad; and now the Parliament was prorogued, and the Court again deliver'd itself up to its usual Sloth and Luxury.

The Duchess of *York*, who was brought over this Winter, our Author tells us, was about sixteen, had a graceful Person, and a good Share of Beauty, and had the Cunning to behave herself all this Reign in so obliging a manner, and seem'd so innocent and good, that she gain'd the Affections of all that approach'd her; only sometimes a satyrical Temper manifest'd itself too much, which was imputed chiefly to her Youth, and her not being practis'd in the World: She neither appear'd a Zealot or a Medler in Business, but maintain'd an innocent Cheerfulness, and was generally beloved and esteem'd while she was Duchess.

The King now pretended to favour the Party of Duke *Hamilton* in *Scotland*, we are told, and to discountenance Duke *Lauderdale*, in Hopes that would have been an Inducement for the Commons of *England* to have us'd him better; but the Peace being signed, and the Parliament dismissed, Duke *Lauderdale* was restored to Favour, and now took all Methods to render himself popular, conniving at the Insolence of the Presbyterians, who took Possession
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of one of the vacant Churches in *Edinburgh*, and preached in it some Months. But however this might reconcile him to the Presbyterians, the Clergy were provoked out of Measure, and moved for a national Synod; but our Author says, he was ever of *Nazianzen's* Opinion, who never wished to see any more Synods of the Clergy.

When our Author came up to *London* again, he waited on his Royal Highness, he says, who received him kindly; but told him, the King was highly incensed against him, being given to understand, that he was the Occasion of all the Disorders in *Scotland*; and being introduced to the King, he was received but coldly, and soon after ordered to be struck out of the List of Chaplains and forbid the Court. However, the King heard him what he had to say in his Defence, and when he had done, said he was afraid he had been too busy, and required him to return to *Scotland*, and learn to be quiet. But his Royal Highness told our Author, that if he went back without reconciling himself to Lord *Lauderdale*, he would certainly be made a close Prisoner, which Intimation, our Author says, he looked upon as a very high Obligation; so he resolved to stay in *England*, and preached about *London*, and a Church happening to fall, those who had the Disposal of it were inclined to elect him, but were afraid of offending the Court; and when his Royal Highness spoke to Duke *Lauderdale*, to desire him to be satisfied with our Author's remaining in *London*, *Lauderdale* said, this was a Trick of the Party in *Scotland* to settle him here, that he might carry on a Correspondence between the Factions in both Kingdoms, and he lost his Election by the Interposition of the Court. Dr. *Sharpe* also represented to his Majesty, that Mr. *Burnet* was forming a Party against Duke *Lauderdale*, both in the House of Lords

Lords and House of Commons, which though it was false, the King ordered our Author not to come within twenty Miles of *London*; whereupon he demanded of Secretary *Coventry* to have this Order in writing, he says, but it being against Law, it was refused; still his Royal Highness endeavoured to make Lord *Lauderdale* Friends with him, but in vain; whereupon our Author said to some, that Lord *Lauderdale* had gone so far in opening some wicked Designs to him, that he believed he would not be satisfied till he was undone; and thereupon our Author revealed the Discourses that had passed between the Lord *Lauderdale* and him, which, he thinks, he ought not to have done, because they were the Effects of Confidence and Friendship. But so much Provocation, he thinks, might have heated an older Man to have said as much, for he was then but thirty: The Persons to whom he thus revealed the Discourse he had with Lord *Lauderdale*, he tells us, resolved to make use of what he had said against him in the next Parliament.

Lord *Danby* and Duke *Lauderdale* now set up, our Author says, to be the Patrons of the Church Party, and were for doing all possible Honours to the Memory of King *Charles* the First, and those who had been in his Interest; a Statue of Brass was erected at *Charing Cross*, and a magnificent Funeral designed for that King: The Building of *St. Paul's* was zealously begun, and the Ministry enter'd into a Scheme with *Morley* and other Bishops for suppressing Popery; and *Lauderdale* now reconciled himself to *Sheldon* and *Morley*, with whom he had hitherto been in ill Terms; and even *Sharpe* was brought out of *Scotland*, to assure the People that the Party who were against Lord *Lauderdale*, were also against the Church; tho' this, our Author says, was notoriously false; *Leighton* thought fit at this Time to quit

quit the Archbishoprick of *Glasgow*, and Archbishop *Burnet* was restored to that See.

REMARKS.

If our Author had assign'd any one Reason for the Duke of *Lauderdale's* breaking with him, besides that too well grounded Jealousy that he had betray'd him, there might have been some Reason to have thought him innocent; but when we come to lay all things together, there seems to be so strong a Presumption of his Treachery, as is hardly to be resisted. He has told us himself, that he found Duke *Lauderdale* had not represented the Affairs of *Scotland* justly to his Majesty; and intimates, that he thought it his Duty to undeceive the King; that when the Duchess of *Lauderdale* demanded what Discourse he had with the King, he was surpriz'd and confounded, and had no Way to put her off, but by betraying what his Majesty had said to him of his Course of Life; his Intimacy with Duke *Hamilton*, who led the Party against Lord *Lauderdale*; his remaining in Town after the Lord *Lauderdale*, and coming down the very Day before the Parliament met; and his frequent arraigning *Lauderdale's* Administration, particularly at this very time, are such strong Indications of his underhand Dealings, and treacherous Attempts to procure a Change of the Ministry in *Scotland*, as his Friends will find it difficult to wipe off: And what is a farther Inducement with me to believe it is, that Duke *Lauderdale*, our Author observes, at this time espous'd the Interest of the Church at the Court of *England*, and in *Scotland* too, as he tells us Archbishop *Sharpe* asserted; and tho' he is pleas'd to tell us that *Sharpe* lyed, yet as our Author has always represented his Grace as the Head and Patron of the Church Party

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in *Scotland*, and the greatest Enemy to the Presbyterians, it is very difficult to believe the Archbishop wou'd have affirm'd this, if Lord *Lauderdale* had really depress'd the Church, and countenanc'd the *Scotch* Presbyterians.

And surely our Author, of all Men living, was never cut out for a Confessor, or Minister of State, (two Employments which he seems to think himself extremely well qualify'd for,) who was ever babbling and betraying the Confidence that was repos'd in him, and immediately making such Matters Town-Talk, as ought never to have been reveal'd by a Man who made any Pretences to Honour or Honesty, or had one Grain of common Prudence in him. Might it not justly raise the King's Indignation, to find all that private Conversation our Author had, or pretended to have with his Majesty, reveal'd to the next Woman he met? If his Majesty did endeavour to understand the State of *Scotland* from him; and, to induce him to speak freely and openly on that Head, did express a more than ordinary Confidence in him; yet when he found he had divulg'd and boasted of the Freedom he took with his Majesty, and not improbably made many Additions to what was said, this must certainly give his Majesty a very mean Opinion of our Author, and make him give very little Heed to the Account he had brought him of the Lord *Lauderdale's* Administration, and the State of *Scotland*; and had he not fallen into the Hands of the mildest Prince in *Europe*, he would probably have met with another sort of a Rebuke than only his being forbid the Court, and commanded twenty Miles from *London*; which Order we find he had the Impudence to disobey: And to observe, that when our Author was found out, and not able to ruin the Duke of *Lauderdale* with the King, that he

he should next apply himself to some Members of Parliament, and betray all the Secrets he had been intrusted with, under Pretence of ill Usage, in order to spirit up an Impeachment against Lord *Lauderdale*, is such an undeniable Instance of his Baseness, as can never be palliated or defended. To say he was but thirty Years of Age, and urge that as an Excuse, how ridiculous is it, when long before this he thought himself capable of directing the Administration in both Kingdoms? When any thing miscarried, he would have us believe it was because his Advice was not attended to: according to the Estimate he has made of his own Parts and Abilities, he should have had more Prudence at thirty, than others had at fifty; but here he seems for once to acknowledge, he was clothed with the same Infirmities that other Mortals are.

Nor is the Account our Author has given us of the Peace made with the *Dutch*, less intricate and perplexed than his Account of the State of *Scotland*, and his own Disgrace. The King, he says, was now at the Mercy of the States, and yet the States were much set upon procuring a Peace with *England*. Strange that we should be at the Mercy of the *Dutch*, and yet that they should be desirous of Peace; nay, that they should beg it in Terms of the greatest Submission, satisfy the King in every Article mentioned in his Declaration of War, and give him two hundred thousand Pounds towards the Charges of the War. Any common Reader that had observed an Enemy making such Concessions, would surely have been apt to conclude both the War and the Peace very glorious to his Majesty, and that the War was no less just than honourable, since the same Articles were insisted on by the *English* at this Treaty, as were insisted on in the Declaration of War; namely, Satisfaction in
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our *East-India Trade*, in the Business of *Surinam*, and in the Flag: All these were now agreed to by the *Dutch*, as well as a Sum paid towards the Charges of the War. Methinks it discovers no small Share of Malice and Prejudice in our Author, to his Majesty King *Charles the Second*, that when he knew all these Facts to be true, he could say, *that the King got out of the War very little to his Honour, being unjust in the beginning, and managed throughout with ill Conduct and bad Success.*

He would indeed insinuate, that the Prince of *Orange* wheedled the *Dutch* to make this Peace, because he was to have the Money they were to pay; but they must be little acquainted with the *Dutch*, who think they would have been so easily imposed upon, to grant Terms so much to the Honour and Advantage of the *English*, if we had been at their Mercy: And if the Prince of *Orange* was to have this Money, it is to be presumed, King *Charles* will no longer be charged with neglecting to pay him the Debt due to his Father, which, I believe, none of our Author's Friends will pretend to say, amounted to near that Sum the *Dutch* were to pay: Our Author would have deserved more Credit in this Matter, if he had said, *part of this Money was to be assigned the Prince towards that Debt.*

There is one Thing I must take leave to mention again in relation to *Scotland* and Duke *Lauderdale*, which I have already hinted at, and that is a Passage, where our Author tells us, that *the Duke of Lauderdale endeavoured to render himself popular in Scotland, by conniving at the Insolence of the Presbyterians, and that thereby he provoked the Church Party out of Measure.* And yet he tells us immediately after, that Archbishop *Sharpe*, whom he always makes a strenuous Advocate for his Clergy, and an Enemy to the Presbyterians, now came to *London*, and gave

out every where, that the Party who opposed Duke *Lauderdale* were the greatest Enemies to the Church. Can we suppose that the Archbishop would have said this, if he and his Clergy had been so extravagantly provoked by his ill Usage of them, as we are told they were but just before? Is it not highly probable, that Duke *Lauderdale* did appear at this Time to espouse the Interest of the Church of *Scotland*, not only from what Dr. *Sharpe* said, but from Father *Leighton*'s resigning his Bishoprick, and Archbishop *Burnet*'s being restored to the See of *Glasgow*, who was always allowed to be a fast Friend to the Church, and a brave Defender of her Rights, and had been so long deprived of his Bishoprick, according to our Author, for the commendable Zeal he had expressed in her Behalf?

A B R I D G M E N T.

The Character our Author is pleased to give us of Sir *William Temple*, is, that he was a vain conceited Man, which he shewed indecently upon all Occasions: That he had a true Judgment and good Principles indeed as to Government, but in nothing else, for he seemed to think, that all Things were as they had been from all Eternity, and much admired the Sect of *Confucius*, who were Atheists, and left Religion to the Rabble: He corrupted all that came near him, and gave himself up to the Study of his own Ease and Pleasure. The Lord *Danby* was directed by him in all foreign Affairs, he says, for no Minister ever understood less of the Affairs of *Europe*, than *Danby*.

Here we are referred to Sir *William Temple*'s Letters for a Character of the Prince of *Orange*. In these Letters, our Author says, it appears, that that Prince, while very young and little practised in Affairs;

fairs, had so clear and just a View of them, that *nothing could misguide him*; and that his Fidelity to his Country and the publick Interest was such, that no private Considerations could ever move him to abandon them.

The Duke of *York* does not seem much less in favour with our Author at this Time, than the Prince: He was much delighted with the *French King's* turning off his Mistress *Montespan*, at the Instance of his Confessor, we are told, and that the Duke relating it before the King and the Dukes of *Portsmouth*, they heard it with great Uneasiness, and were both much out of Countenance. The Duke, he says, was then reading *Nurembergius*, of the Difference between Things temporal, and Things eternal; and our Author had much good Discourse with him upon that Subject, but soon after lost his Favour; for in *April 1675*, the Commons fell upon Duke *Lauderdale*, and our Author was summoned to give Evidence of his Design of arming the *Irish* Papists, and deposed, that he heard him say, that *he wished the Presbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Irish Papists to cut their Throats*. But he added, that he knew Duke *Lauderdale* was apt to say Things in a Heat, which he never intended to do. He was next examined, he says, concerning the Design of bringing the *Scottish* Army into *England* to reduce this Kingdom; but he desired to be excused from answering to that Point, this having been spoken in private Discourse; but being threaten'd by the House, if he concealed his Knowledge after being brought four Times to the Bar, he gave that Account of this Matter as was mentioned before. He was much blamed for this, he says, by some, who gave out that he had been much obliged to Lord *Lauderdale*; whereas he never received any real Obligation from him, but

had done his Lordship great Service, for which he had been very unworthily requited; but, he says, had it been otherways, he makes it a great Question, how far such Obligations ought to bind, when the Designs are very wicked, and the Person continued in the same Post, with Power of executing them. Perhaps, he says, his Love to his Country and private Friendships carried him too far, especially having declared so much against Clergymens meddling in Civil Matters, and having notwithstanding interested himself so much in them.

By this Accident, he says, he quite lost the Favour of the Court, which proved a great Blessing to him; for the Duke of *York's* Kindness to him increasing, it might possibly have involved him in great Difficulties, and exposed him to censure: Whereas, now he applied himself to his Studies, and the Duties of his Function, being Preacher at the Rolls, and soon after chosen Lecturer of *St. Clement's*; and the Master of the Rolls was so steady to him, that though the King sent to him to dismiss our Author, he desired to be excused, and proved a very kind Patron to him for ten Years that he continued in that Post: in Gratitude for which, our Author here gives us his Character. He says, his Principle was, that Allegiance and Protection were mutual Obligations, and that the one went for the other: He thought the Law was the Measure of both, and that when a legal Protection was denied to one that paid a legal Allegiance, the Subject had a Right to defend himself. When the long Parliament engaged in a League with *Scotland*, he refused to take the Covenant, and did not sit in the House till that was laid aside; but then he returned, and joined with *Hollis* and the other Presbyterians in opposing *Cromwell* and the Independents: He was one of the secluded Members, and always looked
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upon as a well Wisner to the ancient Constitution, and therefore was chosen Speaker by the Convention, which called the King home, and was thought to merit so much, that he was soon after made Master of the Rolls, in which Post he continued with much Reputation till his Death. And our Author thinks, his only Fault was, that he was too rich, though he was very charitable: He was much sharpen'd against Popery, and had always a great Tenderness for the Dissenters, though he continued in the Communion of the Church.

Lord *Danby* was attacked in the Parliament *Anno* 1675, but in vain, the Majority being for him. He took a different Method, our Author tells us, from the former Ministry, for they used to bribe the leading Men in the House, and despise the Herd; but Lord *Danby* thought it the surer Game to take off the Majority, and neglect the great Men, who raised their Price so high, that he could buy ten ordinary Men cheaper than one of them: But the Men he brib'd were of so low a Size, he says, that they were baffled in every Debate, and Men were at length ashamed to vote on their Side, though never so well inclined.

Seymour, he says, was the ablest Man of his Party: He was a graceful Person, bold and quick, but had a peculiar sort of Pride, void of Shame or Decency, and violent against the Court, till he had forced himself into good Posts: The most assuming Speaker that ever that House had, and he knew every Man so well, that he could tell the Fate of any Question, and would sometimes artfully delay the putting of it, till he found he had a Majority. Here our Author tells us a Story of Mr. *Harvy*, Treasurer to the Queen, that he having voted against the Court upon a certain Occasion, and the King reprimanding him severely for it, the next Day he voted on the

other Side ; of which the King taking Notice, and saying, you are not against me to Day ; he answered, no Sir, I was against my Conscience to Day, and the King seemed pleased with the Answer.

Our Author proceeds to give an Account of a new Test that was proposed in Parliament, to be required of Electors, which did not pass, the two Houses being interrupted by a Dispute concerning their Privileges, upon an Appeal from the Chancery to the House of Lords, wherein a Member of the Commons was a Party ; and the Dispute arose to that Height, that the King found it necessary to prorogue them.

In the next Sessions of Parliament the King laid before the Commons the Necessity he was reduced to by the Anticipation of his Revenues ; but it was said, that if Anticipations were once admitted to be a Reason for a Supply, the Court would never want that Reason ; and it was more proper to examine by whose Means, and on what Design those Anticipations were made ; and the Question being put for a Supply, it was carried in the Negative. Here our Author gives us the Characters of some of his Whig Patriots in the House of Commons, among whom he reckons the Lord *Russel*, the Lord *Cavendish*, Mr. *Littleton*, Mr. *Powle*, and Mr. *Vaughan*, Son to the Chief Justice ; and by these, he says, the Nation was preserved from a very deceitful and practising Court, and from a corrupt House of Commons. He adds, *these Things I thought fit to lay together, for our main Business lay in preparing for, or managing a Session of Parliament.*

Upon the Death of Dr. *Henchman*, Compton, Brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, our Author tells us, was made Bishop of *London* : He carried Arms some Years, and was past thirty when he took Orders : He was an humble modest Man, our Author says, and

and applied himself to the Duties of his Office, more than Bishops usually had done, but his preaching was without Life or Learning, for he had not gone through his Studies as he ought: He was a great Patron of Popish Converts and *French* Refugees, which acquired him a great Reputation: He complained often to the Council of the Insolence of Papists, and particularly of *Coleman's*, but he was a weak Man, and strangely wedded to a Party, and managed by the Lord *Danby* as he pleased. *Sheldon* dying, *Compton* was made to believe, that Lord *Danby* had recommended him to the See of *Canterbury*, but this was never intended. There was none of that Order, our Author says, fit to fill that See, whom the Court could trust; but *Sancroft*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, was made Archbishop.

Sancroft was a Man of a solemn Deportment, we are told, and fullen Gravity, but learned: He used a monastick Strictness, and lived retired from Company, which together with his being unmarried, and fixed in the old Maxims of high Loyalty, and a superstitious valuing of little Things, made the Court look upon him as one who might be wrought upon to serve their Ends, or would at least prove an unactive speculative Man, and give them little Opposition: He was cold and dry, reserved and peevish, our Author tells us, insomuch, that he was beloved by none, and few esteemed him; however, the high Church Party were rejoiced at his Promotion.

The Friendship the Earl of *Essex* shewed to our Author, he says, was such, that he thinks himself obliged to attempt his Character also. He was Son to the Lord *Capel*, and his Education was neglected, by Reason of the War; but when he came to Man's Estate, he made himself Master of the *Latin* Tongue, and acquired great Skill in the Mathematicks, and

all other Parts of Learning : He understood the Constitution, and was a very thoughtful Man, and appeared early against the Court, which the King imputing to his Resentments, resolved to employ him, and sent him Ambassador to *Denmark*, where he gained much Reputation. Upon his Return from that Kingdom, he was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, without any Application : He was a violent Enemy to Popery, not from any religious Principles, in which he was too loose, but because he thought it an Invasion on the Freedom of human Nature : He exceeded all that had gone before him in the Government of *Ireland*, our Author says ; he studied to understand the Constitution and Interest of that Nation, and advanced every Thing that was set on Foot for the Good of the Kingdom. He always preferred Men for their Merit, without any Application of their own, and did all that lay in his Power to prevent his Servants and Dependants being brib'd, and refused to pass any Accounts of the Revenue when not regularly made, though pressed to it by the King ; so exact was his Government, that his Majesty thought it reproached his own, and therefore took a Resolution to displace him, and make the Duke of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant again. Here our Author takes an Opportunity to tell us, he heard the Lord *Essex* say, the King often took Money into his privy Purse to defraud his Exchequer ; and that *Coventry* told the Lord *Essex*, that in a Plantation Cause at the Council Board, seeing the King take the worst Side, he told him privately, it was a vile Cause he supported ; but the King answered he had got good Money by doing it.

In *Scotland* the Duke of *Lauderdale* had so mastered all Opposition, our Author says, that they were now silent, though not quiet ; for the Field-Conventicles which Men came to armed, increased mightily ;

mightily; whereupon great Numbers were outlawed, and a Writ was issued, which made all Persons who harboured such Outlaws to be involved in the same Guilt; whereupon many left their Houses, and ranged about like *Banditti*, and became exceeding fierce and savage, so that the Privy Council look'd upon the Nation to be in a State of War; and by vertue of an old Statute seiz'd upon several Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Houses, and fortify'd them, the better to suppress these Conventicles, which our Author looks upon as a very great Hardship, and not altogether legal; yet these were kept up for above a Year, he says, till the Houses were ruin'd by the Soldiers, who understood that the more Waste they did, the better they should be look'd upon; these Houses belonging to Persons who were in an opposite Interest to Lord *Lauderdale*.

R E M A R K S.

The Gratitude of our Author to his Friends and noble Benefactors, has already been taken notice of; but surely it never appear'd more conspicuous, than in the Returns he made to his Royal Highness and Duke *Lauderdale*, if we may believe his own Relation: He was admitted to the most intimate Familiarities, and had the most Grace and Condescension shewn him by his Royal Highness, that ever so great a Prince express'd to so mean a Subject: How friendly and familiarly does he represent the Duke of *York* talking with him of Religion and Politicks, and of his own private Concerns? How did he endeavour to restore him to the King's Favour, and reconcile him to Duke *Lauderdale*; and give him such kind Intimations, that he himself says, *he look'd upon it as a high Obligation*? Cou'd it have been suppos'd,

pos'd, after all this, that our good Bishop shou'd have become the greatest Enemy this Prince had in the three Kingdoms; and not content with the Mischief he had done him in his Life-time, leave him so vile a Character in this posthumous History, as hardly any thing but the Character he has recorded of his own Baseness and Ingratitude can parallel?

In the Evidence our Author gave to the Parliament against Duke Lauderdale, it is observable that after he had depos'd, That *the Duke wish'd that the Presbyterians wou'd rebel, that he might bring over an Army of Irish Papists to cut all their Throats*, he adds, *He knew Duke Lauderdale us'd to say things in a Passion he never intended to do*; which tho' it may at first Sight have an Appearance of some Tenderness for the Duke, and to be said by way of Mitigation of the Thing, yet he very well knew it was the most effectual Way of obtaining Credit with the Parliament, and making the Thing more firmly believ'd; for whenever a Man puts on an Appearance of Friendship, and seems an unwilling Witness, every thing he lets fall against his pretended Friend is receiv'd as undoubted Truth.

But further, if our Author did believe that the Duke said this in a Passion, and never design'd to execute it, then surely he ought never to have divulg'd a thing of this nature, which might have been of such fatal Consequence to his Benefactor. Even his Pretence of serving his Country will not bring him off here; for if it was only a passionate Expression, and no real Design, his Country cou'd not have been much prejudic'd if he had held his Tongue: But what Advantage soever he might think of doing the Duke, by intimating this was a passionate Expression, surely he knock'd all on the Head again by his subsequent Deposition, *That the Duke*

Duke had prepar'd an Army in Scotland to conquer England. The Parliament wou'd certainly entertain no Doubt of the Reality of the first Design when they were once assured of this; and to observe our Author's Management to procure himself to be believ'd; to see him pretend that it was spoken to him in great Confidence; and that he had all the Ties of Friendship and Gratitude upon him not to reveal it; and then after four Days standing out, come and testify a thing that in all Probability wou'd have cost the Duke his Head; his abundant Caution, and pretended Unwillingness, he was very sensible wou'd put the Matter beyond all Dispute; and if he had studied an Age, he cou'd not have taken a more effectual Method to have ruin'd the Duke. But why was not all this Caution us'd at the proper Time? How came he, unask'd, to say these Things before Gentlemen whom he knew wou'd bring them before the Parliament? All his future Caution was but Grimace, and a more effectual Way of gratifying his Revenge: Had he come voluntarily before the Parliament, and readily depos'd all he had to say, it wou'd not have had half that Weight with them, we find it had by this pretended Backwardness.

And to put it past all Doubt that he premeditated and design'd this Prosecution against Duke *Lauderdale*, he proceeds at last to justify it, from his Love to his Country, and makes it a Question whether any Obligations of Friendship can bind a Man to conceal treasonable Practices against his dear Country: Had not he better have spoke out at once, and not trifled with his Reader half a Page together? But the farther to justify himself, he affirms, that he never receiv'd any real Obligations from Lord *Lauderdale*. And now I am really at a Loss to understand what we are to mean by the Word

Word *Obligation*, for he has told us that this same Lord *Lauderdale* recommended him to a great King, and made him the Offer of Bishopricks, and Archbishopricks; and if any Clergyman in the three Kingdoms wou'd not look upon such Offers as real Obligations, I am much mistaken; especially when there was nothing prevented the Performance or the carrying these Offers into Execution, but our Author's excessive Modesty, and humble Sense that he was not duly qualify'd for such Posts in the Church: And I believe most Readers will wonder how it came to pass that our Author made such a Bustle to procure himself a little Cure or a Lecture, and yet refus'd the best Bishopricks in *England*. I'm afraid he will be thought to have bragg'd a little too much of the Preferments that were offer'd him, as well as of the Dialogues he had with some of our Princes: A very small Foundation wou'd serve our Author to furnish out Stories of this nature, it appears; and had he given his Mind to it, I don't doubt but he cou'd have out-done *Robinson Crusoe*, or the *New Atlantis*: Some are apt to think the Characters in the *Atlantis* as justly drawn as many of those we find in this posthumous Work.

As to our Author's applying himself to understand Civil Affairs, I don't so much blame him for it, as for his severe Reflections upon other Clergymen for doing a thing he so much practis'd himself: The Education of a Clergyman certainly gives him very great Advantages, which others want; and why he may not spend part of his Time in the Service of his Country, and in learning the Maxims that the World is govern'd by, I cou'd never see any good Reason assign'd. To say that Clergymen ought to mind nothing but the Study of Divinity, is ridiculous: They wou'd be better qualify'd

qualify'd for their Office, if they were more acquainted with the Laity, and with secular Affairs : It is their herding together, and not conversing enough with the World, that makes many of them often judge and act so oddly as they do. Where should the Physician be but with the Sick ? How shall he know how to apply proper Remedies, when he never rightly understands the Disease ? And why they should not be advanced to Offices and Places in the Government as well as other Gentlemen, what Reason can be assigned ? We know the common People pay a great Respect to their temporal Magistrates, and if their Parson was clothed with the same Authority, it would make him much more regarded in Spirituals ; and indeed, it is only those that would depress the Church, that are for stripping the Clergy of all Honour and temporal Power ; for as these Gentlemen's Education is at least as good as others ; and as their Business is to propagate Religion and Morality, why may they not be deemed as capable of administering Justice as their Neighbours ? If their Power of doing Good was enlarged, what would the World suffer by it ? The Dissenters and Enemies to the Church indeed, rail at the Honour and Power that is conferred on Churchmen, because they dread nothing so much as to see the Church flourish. But surely this should be a very good Argument with all true Sons of the Church, to honour and countenance them the more ; and we may depend upon it, if the Presbyterians did not think, that the advancing the Clergy to Posts of Honour and Profit in the Government, tended to the Support and Establishment of the Church, we should not find them always so zealously opposing it. Observe but the Kirk of *Scotland*, where they don't indeed aspire to the Magistracy, but they do much more, for they claim a Power superior

superior to the Civil Magistrate; and we meet with several Instances in our Author, where they have put this Power in Execution, and done Justice, as they call it, not only upon the People, but upon the Magistrates themselves, in Defiance of the Government, under Pretence of having a superior Commission from God himself as *Phineas* and *Ehud*, and other zealous Men among the Jews had; and if they pretend to an Authority to controul and command the Civil Powers, no Wonder that the Saints slight the deriving any temporal Jurisdiction from them. The Civil Magistrate, it seems, is but their Servant, and accountable to them upon Presbyterian Principles, when they durst speak out, though it be not always convenient to avow such Principles.

But to proceed; all the World, I believe, must be of Opinion, that young Parson *Burnet* was a little too arrogant and assuming, p. 389. where, he says, *our main Business lay in preparing for, or managing a Session of Parliament*, when he was neither a Magistrate, or a Minister of State, or so much as Master of a Living, or one Foot of Land in *England*: The bare repeating this insolent Passage, is a sufficient Remark upon it, for 'tis impossible any Man can read it without a suitable Contempt of the vain *Scot*: What a Dust we make, says the Fly upon the Chariot Wheel, and how we Apples swim, said the Horse Turds.

Our Author mentioning the Death of Archbishop *Sheldon* in this Place, I shall insert a Character of him, which has been communicated to me lately by a very great Hand, and was done by one who was intimately acquainted with his Grace. The Character that has been already given of him in these Remarks, not being near so full and copious, the Reader will excuse my giving it from two several Hands, especially since our Author has so

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grossly

grossly misrepresented and abused this good Man : But as it appears he was the great Support of the Church of *England*, and contributed so much to the Settlement of it after the Restoration, and appears to be so severe upon all pharisaical Pretenders to uncommon Sanctity, it is not to be much wonder'd at, that he became one of the principal Subjects of our Author's Malice. He saw through all the specious Pretences of *Moderation* and *Comprehension*, and defeated all the hopeful Schemes of the Schismaticks, and therefore we might very naturally suppose our Author would not allow him to have *any Sense of Religion*.

The Gentleman who gives us this Character of *Dr. Sheldon*, informs us, that when the Act of Uniformity came to be put in Execution, the Dissenters relied much upon the Interest of their Friends at Court, who were some of them Members of the Privy-Council, and Officers of State, who had constantly endeavoured to skreen their Brethren, and defeat the Force of the Laws made against them. These Gentlemen represented to the King, whose Lenity and Tenderneſs encouraged them to hope, that nothing would be denied them, which had the Appearance of Clemency or *Moderation* ; that it would by no Means be safe or adviseable to exasperate so numerous and powerful a People, as they represented the Dissenters to be ; pretending, that if only the old Terms of Uniformity had been required, they would soon return to the Bosom of the Church ; and having by their Importunity and specious Pretences made some Impression on his Majesty, and procured them a hearing before the Council, where they were allowed to suggest every Reason they could think on against putting the Act of Uniformity in Execution, Doctor *Sheldon*, then Lord Bishop of *London*, came to the Council

Council Board, and gave such Reasons for the putting the Act in Execution, as convinced his Majesty, his Royal Highness, and the whole Council, of the Necessity of putting the Act in Execution, insomuch, that the Petitioners who came to desire a Suspension of it, had nothing to say for themselves. The Bishop gave them to understand, that it was now too late to think of suspending that Law; for that he had already in Obedience to it, ejected such of his Clergy, as would not comply with it upon the *Sunday* before; and should they now be restored, after they were thus exasperated, he must expect to feel the Effects of their Resentment, and should never be able to maintain his Episcopal Authority among such a Clergy, who would not fail to insult him as their Enemy, being thus countenanced by the Court. Nor could the Resolutions of the Council Board justify his Contempt of a Law, which had passed with such a unanimous Consent, and upon such mature Deliberation of both Houses, and which was approved by all good Men; should the sacred Authority of this Law be now suspended, it would render the Legislature ridiculous and contemptible in the Eyes of the Nation; and if the Impudence and Importunity of a seditious disaffected People were a sufficient Reason to humour them, neither the Church or State would ever be free from Distractions and Convulsions.

This Speech of Bishop *Sheldon's* fortunately changed the Fate of Affairs, says my Author, and the Fanaticks, who came to the Council with an Assurance of Success, were enraged and confounded to find themselves deceived in the Hopes their Friends had given them, having irrecoverably lost their Benefices, which they never designed to have parted with, but upon an Assurance that the Government would have been compell'd to humour them.

them. They had been also made to believe, that it would be impossible to find Preachers to supply the vacant Pulpits; but this wise Prelate having procured a List of their Numbers, had provided such a Supply of orthodox, eloquent, and learned Divines, as made the Absence of the former Fanatick Preachers very little lamented by any, but the seditious ignorant Rabble.

But to give a more particular Character of this great Prelate; Dr. *Sheldon*, was eminent for his sincere and exalted Piety, punctual in his Devotions without ever valuing himself upon them. He did not so much regard the meer Act of Divine Worship, as the Significancy and Tendency of it; for it was a Maxim with him, that Religion consisted principally in a good Life, and daily and familiarly admonished those about him to beware of deceiving themselves, with a partial and imperfect Religion; and that they should not imagine that their Duty to God was confined within the Church Walls, for the greater Part of it lay elsewhere, and must shew itself in our Intercourses with each other. When a Man is conscious of his own Probiry, Sobriety, and Charity, then, and not till then, he may reckon upon his Piety and Devotion: Nor was it material what Communion a vitious and immoral Man was of, or what Principles he professed. It was a common Saying of his, *do well, and be merry*; in which he intimated at once, the Duty and the Pleasure of Life. He equally detested the Folly of Atheists, and the Pride of Fanaticks, who resolve all their Duty and Religion into the Services of publick Worship, and hearing long Discourses, and think themselves holier than others, meerly because they spend so many more Hours than others in their Devotions. He pitied their Ignorance, and considered them as Men incapable of distinguishing be-

tween Good and Evil; but at the same Time he did not neglect to represent the great Efficacy and Advantage of Prayer to obtain the Divine Assistance, and cultivate in our Souls lively Impressions of Reverence to the Divine Majesty. But nothing, he said, could be expected from these Duties, if we advanced no further; and he apprehended him to be the best Christian, who studied to promote as much as possible the Welfare of Mankind: That the only Way to do much Good in the World, was to be true to the Principles and Obligations of Justice, as it included all that hearty good Will and Tenderness between Man and Man, which is the very Cement and Soul of human Society, and the sovereign Preservative of all publick Peace and Order. Every other Virtue is subordinate and ministerial to this; and all the Merit of Generosity and Liberality, exclusive of Justice, is lost in the Crime and Infamy of Theft. These Principles he was ever inculcating into the young Nobility, who were sent to him by their Parents, frequently to receive his admirable Instructions. *Let it be your first Care,* he would say, *to approve yourself an honest and a virtuous Man; after that, be as devout and pious as you please. All the Piety in the World, without good Morals and Probity go along with it, will neither stand you in any stead, nor any Body else: Effeminate and lazy Votaries have no Reason to look for a Reward from God Almighty, and no body can reap any Benefit from a barren Piety: Let a real Integrity be at the bottom of your Religion, and then you will take a Pleasure of Course in practising all the Duties both of Devotion and Humanity.* He never was more provoked than at the religious Pretences of wicked Men. He observed, *that the blackest Designs were frequently carried on under the Mask of a monkish Humility, and a seraphick Holiness, and warned People to avoid such Pretenders as they*

they would a *Pickpocket*; for he could not, he said, recollect above three or four *Instances*, and they were *Idcots*, amongst all those *Miracles of Sanctity*, but what carried false *Colours*, and proved *Privateers for Preferment*, and if they happened to arrive at the height of a conspicuous Character, were generally exposed to the *Derision* and *Contempt* of Mankind; for being unacquainted with the *Maxims* of good Manners and *Modesty*, they usually managed with that *Insolence*, and so very awkwardly, that one would be tempted to think, they were thus plac'd in a full View for the *Diversion* of the rest of the World. But as much as he nauseated the little Practices of these Counterfeits, because by their demure *Hypocrisy* they exposed the *Dignity* of Religion, and enervated the *Authority* of all Government, by their incorrigible *Insolence*; yet when he found a Person of sincere and uniform *Piety*, it is not to be imagined, with what *Affection* and *Extasy* of Joy he would embrace such a Man's Acquaintance and *Friendship*. The World could not afford a more agreeable *Entertainment*, or a *Communication* that appeared nearer to that of the *Blest* above, whose *Felicity* consists in an exquisite *Elegance* of Joy, and a solemn *Reverence* of their Maker, than the unaffected *Piety* and innocent *Freedom* that appeared in his *Conversation* with such People; and as he had many of these *Favourites* and *Friends*, he contributed liberally to their *Relief* and *Support*, purely out of *Regard* to their *Piety* and *Modesty*: He was easy and entertaining, both to himself and others; and though he held there was no real *Felicity* on this side *Heaven*, yet he thought it was in the *Power* of a wise Man, upon the sure and comfortable *Hope* of a better Life, to make this tolerably happy, but it must be insupportable to those who distrusted a *Futurity*: He retained the same *Calmness*.

and equal Frame of Mind to his dying Day, which he enjoyed the rest of his Life, and lost nothing of that habitual good Humour and Complacency, which is the necessary Result of a good Life, and a clear Conscience, to the very Moment he expired. By his good Will he never suffered any one to go away from him discontented or melancholy, unless upon the Score of leaving him : His Behaviour to his Domesticks had a decent Mixture of Gravity and Facetiousness : He governed his Family like a prudent Master, and a well bred Gentleman : All revered him, and yet no body was afraid of him ; and when he had an Occasion to express any Sharpness, it was reliev'd and soften'd with a Socratick Lenity : His Doors were always open for an hospitable Reception of all Comers, and his Table furnished, not with a luxurious and profuse, but a genteel and elegant Plenty, and was frequented by Persons of Quality, for the Pleasure of his Conversation. There they met, not only with a noble Entertainment, but it was seasoned and enriched with all the Relish it could derive from the Poignancy of a sharp and serious Wit : He was courteous and familiar to every Visitant, of whatever Condition or Circumstances ; and no Man took his Leave uncaptivated with the surprizing Civilities and good Usage he had received.

His Wisdom received all the Lustre and Reputation he could wish, from the great Regard and Esteem it had merited with that excellent Prince King *Charles* the First, of whose Favour he enjoyed a more than ordinary Share, and was admitted to a sort of friendly Familiarity and Intimacy with him. When the King's Affairs grew desperate, after the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, and the Officers of the Rebel Army had resolved upon that hellish Parricide, they committed soon after, the
King's

King's Friends and Servants being no longer suffered to be with him: His Majesty by a long and importunate Application, obtained Leave to have Dr. *Sheldon's* Company for one Day, which they lengthen'd out till Midnight, when military Violence parted them. And these few Hours his Majesty spent in communicating his private Thoughts and last Commands, particularly those which related to the Prince his Son; and among these were particularly these three: 1st, That he would be ready to forgive his Rebel Subjects, but never trust a Soul of them, unless he had a Mind to be undone again. 2dly, That he should keep his Exchequer as well replenish'd as he could, for if a Prince be rich, his Subjects would seldom have the Courage to attempt any Thing against him. And 3dly, That he should make it his Business to recover the Nation from the guilt of Sacrilege, and set a good Example himself, by restoring those Revenues to the Church that had been seiz'd by the Crown, which he himself had vow'd to do, if it should please God to settle him on his Throne again.

But to return to his Grace's Character: He was not only an eminent Example, of an invincible Firmness and Fortitude under Afflictions, but of a vigorous and enterprizing Courage: He performed the Duty of a Privy-Counsellor to King *Charles* the Second during his Exile, and was one of the principal Managers of his Affairs in *England*: He had a Share in almost every Enterprize, which was prudently concerted, and carried any Prospect of Success towards his Majesty's Restoration; but he was more particularly employed in collecting Money for his Majesty's Use, and sent him over every Year considerable Sums.

I shall not mention his Charity and Munificence while he was in a private Station, though this was very considerable; but from the Time he was advanc'd to the Episcopal Dignity, which he held seventeen Years, I am very well assur'd he spent no less than between three and fourscore thousand Pounds in Benefactions and Works of Charity; and yet such was his Œconomy, that he left a very handsome Estate, and a very comfortable Maintenance to every one of his Servants during their Lives.

As to Dr. *Sancroft's* Character, which is given us by our Author in this Place, (p. 392.) I shall first enquire what our Author himself has said of him upon other Occasions, and what other Historians have said of him; and then examine how his Grace behav'd upon some great Emergencies, and in the Day of Trial, when his Virtues were brought to the Test; from whence it will not be difficult to discover what Character we are to form of him.

Our Author says of his Grace, p. 675. *Sancroft* lay silent at *Lambeth*; he seem'd zealous against Popery in private Discourse, but he was of such a timorous Temper, and so set on the enriching his Nephew, that he shew'd no sort of Courage. P. 738. He says the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Sancroft*, resolv'd upon this Occasion (of being requir'd to disperse and read the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience) *to act suitably to his Post and Character*: He wrote round his Province, and desir'd that such of the Bishops as were able would come up and consult together in a Matter of this great Concern; and he ask'd the Opinion of those whom their Age and Infirmities disabled from taking the Journey: He found that eighteen of the Bishops, and the main Body of the Clergy, concurr'd in the Resolution against reading the Declaration; so he, with
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six of the Bishops that came to *London*, resolv'd, in a Petition to the King, to lay before him the Reasons that determin'd him not to obey the Order of Council that had been sent them. This flow'd from no Want of Respect to his Majesty's Authority, nor from any Unwillingness to let Favour be shew'd to the Dissenters; in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a Temper as should be thought fit when that Matter should be consider'd and settled in Parliament and Convocation; but this Declaration being founded on such a dispensing Power as had been often declar'd illegal in Parliament, both in the Year 1662, and in the Year 1672, and in the beginning of his own Reign, and was a Matter of so great Consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, they could not in Prudence, Honour and Conscience, make themselves so far Parties, to it as the Publication of it once and again in God's House, and in the Time of divine Service, must amount to. *P. 810.* Our Author tells us that when the Convention was open'd on the 24th (the 22d he means) of *January*, the Archbishop came not to take his Place among them; he resolv'd neither to act for or against the King's Interest; which considering his high Post, was thought very unbecoming: For if he thought, as by his Behaviour afterwards it seems he did, that the Nation was running into Treason, Rebellion and Perjury, it was a strange thing to see one who was at the Head of the Church sit silent all the while that this was in Debate, and not once so much as declare his Opinion, by speaking, voting, or protesting (not to mention the other Ecclesiastical Methods that certainly became his Character;) but *he was a poor-spirited and fearful Man, and acted a very mean Part in all this great Transaction.*

But to confute at once this Heap of Scandal and Detraction, let us see how his Grace behav'd in the most difficult Times.

In the Articles this Archbishop sent to all the Clergy of his Province, in *July* 1688, he, among a great many other pious Rules, gives them the following Directions.

That they walk in Wisdom towards them who are not of our Communion; and if there be in their Parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the Spirit of Meekness, seeking by all good Ways and Means to gain and win them over to our Communion; more especially that they have a very tender Regard to our Brethren the Protestant Dissenters: That upon Occasion offer'd, they visit them at their Houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, persuading them, if it may be, to a full Compliance with our Church, or at least, that whereunto we have already attain'd, we may all walk by the same Rule, and mind the same thing; and in order thereunto, that they take all Opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable Enemies to the Errors, Superstitions, Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Church of *Rome*, and that the very unkind Jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. And in the last Place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace for an universal blessed Union of all reformed Churches, both at Home and Abroad, against our common Enemies, &c.

Upon the 3d of *October*, 1688, he attended his Majesty King *James*, with eight of his Reverend Brethren, and offer'd him the following Advice,

1, To

1. To put the whole Management of his Government in the several Counties, into the Hands of such of the Nobility and Gentry there, as were legally qualify'd for it. 2. To annul his Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs, and that no such Court be erected for the future. 3. That no Dispensation might be granted or continued, by vertue whereof any Person, not duly qualify'd by Law, had been or might be put into any Place, Office, or Preferment, in Church or State, or in the Universities, or continued in the same, especially such as had Cure of Souls annex'd to them; and in particular, that he wou'd restore the President and Fellows of *St. Mary Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, 4. To set aside all Licenses or Faculties, by which any Persons of the *Romish* Communion might pretend to be enabled to teach publick Schools. 5. To desist from the Exercise of his dispensing Power; and to permit that Point to be freely and calmly debated, and finally settled in Parliament. 6. To inhibit the four foreign Bishops (who stiled themselves *Vicars Apostolical*) further invading the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which by Law was vested in the Bishops of the Church of *England*. 7. To fill the vacant Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiastical Promotions within his Gift, both in *England* and *Ireland*, with Men of Learning and Piety; and in particular, (which the Archbishop own'd to be his peculiar Boldness, since 'twas done without the Privy of his Brethren,) forthwith to fill the Archiepiscopal Chair of *York* (which had so long stood empty, and upon which a whole Province depended) with some very worthy Person; for which he was bold to say his Majesty had then before him a very fair Choice. 8. To supersede all farther Prosecutions of *Quo-Warrantos* against Corporations, and to restore to them their ancient Charters and Privileges,

as they heard God had put into his Heart to do for the City of *London*; which they intended otherwise to have made one of their principal Requests. 9. That Writs might be issued out with convenient Speed, for the calling of a free and regular Parliament, in which the Church of *England* might be secur'd, according to the Acts of Uniformity, and Provision might be made for a due Liberty of Conscience, and for securing the Liberties and Properties of all his Subjects, and a mutual Confidence might be establish'd between his Majesty and all his People. 10. Above all, that his Majesty would be pleas'd to permit his Bishops to offer such Motives and Arguments as (they trusted) might by God's Grace be effectual to persuade his Majesty to return to the Communion of the Church of *England*, into which Most Holy Catholick Faith he was baptiz'd, in which he was educated, and to which it was their daily earnest Prayer to God that he might be re-united. Which last Point, we are assur'd the Archbishop afterwards re-inforc'd in a private Conference with the King, by a Discourse full of convincing Arguments, and which favour'd of all the free Breathings of the Primitive Times of Christianity.

Bishop Kennet, *Vol. III. p. 552.* says the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some other of his Suffragans, *absolutely refus'd to own the present Government (King William's) from a conscientious Regard they had to the Allegiance they had sworn to King James.*

His Grace died the 24th of *November, 1693.* He had retir'd to the Place of his Birth and Estate, *Fretchingsfield in Suffolk*; where, by his own Order, he was buried in the Church-yard, with this Inscription on his Tomb.

P. M. S.

Lector, Willielmi nuper Archipræsulis
(Qui natus in vicinia)
Quod Morti cecidit prope hunc Murum jacet,
Atqui resurget: Tu interim
Semper paratus esto, Nam hora, quam non putas,
Dominus Venturus est.
Obijt 24 Novemb. } { Nat. Dom. 1693.
Anno } { Etat. sue 77.

P. M. S.

William Sancroft, born in this Parish, afterwards, by the Providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury; and at last, depriv'd of all he cou'd not keep with a good Conscience, return'd hither to end his Life, where he begun it; and professeth here, at the Foot of his Tomb, That as he naked came forth, so he naked must return; the Lord giveth, and the Lord hath taken away; as the Lord pleaseth, so Things come to pass; blessed be the Name of the Lord.

And over his Effigies was wrote this Text; *St. Mat. xxiv. v. 27. As the Lightning cometh out of the East, and shineth even unto the West, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.*

In a Letter out of *Suffolk*, to a Friend in *London*, giving an Account of Archbishop *Sancroft's* Death, by Mr. *Wagstaff*, he says, I cou'd heartily wish I were able to set this great Example in a true Light; that I cou'd draw his Grace's Picture at full Length, and give a compleat Account of the whole Series of his Life, from the beginning to the end; this, if faithfully done, perhaps wou'd be as bright a Pattern of Virtue, as has for many Ages been communicated

nicated to the World, and would emulate the Piety of the first and purest Times, and the Faithfulness of the primitive Christian Bishops: One speaking to him of the Revolution, and what was likely to be the Effects of it, *Well,* said he, smiling, *I can live upon fifty Pounds a Year*; intimating thereby how the Loss of the rest wou'd affect him, and what an inconsiderable Inducement the highest Station of the Church was to bias him, and pervert his Conscience: He had no Pride, Ambition, Covetousness or Luxury to maintain, and consequently was secure against all Assaults that cou'd come from those Quarters. And tho' he was depriv'd of the Opportunity of devoting so much to pious and charitable Uses as he intended, yet were not his Benefactions inconsiderable; for he settled an Estate in Fee-Farm Rents, of fifty two Pounds *per Ann.* and upwards, upon the Vicarage of *Fretchingfield* in *Suffolk*, the Place of his Birth. He also purchas'd the perpetual Advowson of *Fretchingfield Withersden* in *Suffolk*, and gave it to *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*. He gave also six hundred Pounds towards the building the Chapel there: He also wainscoted the Chapel, and erected the Rails and Altar-piece, which cost him four hundred Pounds; and he purchas'd Fee-Farm Rents, to the Value of twenty three Pounds *per Annum*, and settled them on the College for ever: He gave also a perpetual Annuity of fifty three Pounds *per Annum*, payable out of the *Exchequer*, to that Society, for the founding a School; and he gave his Library also to *Emanuel College*, valued at two thousand five hundred Pounds. He gave one thousand Pounds towards the building of *Chelsea College*, *Anno* 1680; sixty seven Pounds to the Hospital of *St. Nicholas* at *Harble Down* near *Canterbury*; and expended a thousand Pounds in the building the Deanery of *St. Paul's*, *Le Neve's Lives*, &c.

p. 205, 219, 220, The

The same *Le Neve*, p. 216, says, It has been already mentioned what Care Archbishop *Sancroft* took of the true Interest of the Church, by promoting Men of the best Lives and Learning to the chiefest Trusts of it. And what could be expected less from so venerable a Prelate, says *Le Neve*, who had all those great Abilities of Learning and Wisdom, of Piety and Integrity, joined with a prudent Zeal for the Honour of God, the Welfare and Prosperity of the Church, which qualified him for that elevated Station, wherein the Providence of God had placed him? And yet at the same Time, he was endowed with such large Measures of Mortification, Self-Denial, Contempt of the World, and passive Courage, as enabled him, by the Assistance of God's Grace, with great Composure of Mind, to submit to be depriv'd of all he could not keep with a good Conscience.

This was that great Prelate, of whom our Author says, p. 392. He was a dry cold Man, reserv'd and peevish, so that none loved him, and few esteem'd him. And p. 675. he seem'd zealous against Popery in private Discourse; but he was of such a timorous Temper, and so set on enriching his Nephew, that he shewed no sort of Courage. And p. 110. he was a poor spirited and fearful Man, and acted a mean Part in all this great Transaction (the Revolution.)

But surely, Dr. *Burnet*'s Memory failed him mightily at this Time; he must have forgot the Petition and the Trial of the seven Bishops, and what he himself has recorded of the Archbishop on this Occasion; namely, that he resolved to act suitably to his Post and Character: He had not then the Reputation of a poor fearful Man sure. Again, his Grace's Advice to the King before the Prince of *Orange* landed, does not discover any want of Spirit:

Spirit : He was not then assured, or even dreamt of that great Revolution, which so soon succeeded, and might have paid dear for that loyal undisssembled Freedom which he took upon that Occasion. Well, but he did not come to the Convention, and protest against the Proceedings there, which he ought to have done. But possibly his Grace might think he should have given greater Countenance to those Proceedings, if he had appeared in that Assembly on the Prince's Summons, than if he absented himself; and if so, our Author will have very little Occasion to revile him for want of Courage. But is it not a little barbarous in Dr. *Burnet*, who so well knew that his Grace parted with upwards of six thousand Pounds a Year, rather than wound his Conscience, to represent him as a weak, covetous Man, of no Spirit or Resolution? Had we seen our Author, or any of his moderate Brethren voluntarily part with half so much to secure a Reversion on the other side the Grave, we should never have said their Hearts were set on nothing else but enriching their Relations. But the Root of all this Clamour, I doubt, against his Grace, is, his refusing to consecrate dear *Gibby*, when he was nominated to the See of *Salisbury*. Had Dr. *Sancroft* been an Angel, our Author would have made him sensible of his Resentment. It might easily have been foreseen what a Character he must bear in this History. To refuse to consecrate this primitive Apostolical Man, who has given so wonderful a Character of his own Abilities, was an Affront never to be passed by.

ABRIDGMENT.

The Parliament having been prorogu'd for above a Year, it was doubted, our Author says, whether it

it was not thereby dissolved; for by some ancient Statutes, it is said, that a Parliament shall be held once a Year, and oftner if need be; from whence it was inferr'd, that the Prorogation being for more than a Year, so that the Parliament could not sit that Year, the Prorogation was void, and consequently the Parliament dissolved. This was endeavoured to be supported by the Lord *Shaftsbury*, the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, for which they were all sent to the Tower, upon refusing to ask Pardon. Three of these Lords lay in the Tower some Months, and then were set at Liberty upon their Petition: *Shaftsbury* refused to petition, but mov'd the King's Bench to be discharged; but that Court taking Notice he was committed by a superior Jurisdiction, would not intermeddle in the Matter.

Many Arguments had been urg'd, our Author tells us, against long Parliaments. A standing Parliament, it was said, chang'd the Constitution, and the King no more consulted with his People. They were rather a Cabal, than a true Representative of the Kingdom, and would either be an Engine to barter away the People's Liberties, or by rendring themselves popular, join with the People against the Crown. It was mov'd therefore to address the King to dissolve the Parliament: His Royal Highness, and a Majority of the Temporal Lords were for it, our Author says, but the Bench of Bishops being against it, it was carried in the Negative.

The King of *France* making a great Progress in *Flanders*, and taking the Towns of *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and several other Places, the Commons press'd his Majesty to declare War against *France*, at which the King was uneasy, and sent them several angry Messages, telling them, that Peace and War were

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undoubtedly

undoubtedly the Prerogative of the Crown, and that they should not meddle with Matters out of their Sphere; and at length, to avoid any further Importunity on this Head, he put an end to the Session.

The Earl of *Danby* declared himself for a War with *France*, and procur'd the Prince of *Orange* to come over to *England* and marry the Princess *Mary*; to which he obtained both the King and the Duke's Consent, we are told, by surprizing them with the Proposal, and giving them no Time to deliberate upon it; and that neither of them thought of it two Hours before the Thing was resolved on. This Marriage having given the Nation general Satisfaction, a Parliament was held in the beginning of the Year 78, and the King open'd the Sessions with a Speech, shewing the Danger the *Low-Countries* were in, and desiring a Supply to enable him to oppose the *French Arms* in *Flanders*; and a Poll Tax was granted, and six hundred thousand Pounds voted for the Sea and Land Service. In the mean while the *French* made themselves Masters of *Ghent* and *Ypres*, which gave the *Dutch* great Apprehensions; and the Duke of *Monmouth* was sent over with a Detachment of the Guards to their Assistance.

The Affairs of *Scotland* are again resum'd by our Author, who gives us a tedious Account of the Trial of *Mitchel*, the Assassin, who attempted to murder Archbishop *Sharpe*. This Man had been kept several Years in Prison, but *Sharpe* pretending that he went in great Danger of his Life by his not being brought to Justice, he was now put upon his Trial, our Author says, notwithstanding both *Sharpe* and *Lauderdale*, and the rest of the Privy-Council, had promised this Man his Life, upon his Confession of the Fact; which Promise was enter'd in the Council Books, and was notwithstanding denied by all

of them upon their Oaths at the Trial. It seems, it was thought proper that *Mitchel* should repeat his Confession in a Court of Judicature, but the Judge, who hated *Sharpe*, as he went up to the Bench, our Author tells us, bid the Prisoner confess nothing, unless he was sure of his Limbs, as well as of his Life, and he thereupon refus'd to confess in Court; whereupon the Council said, since he had retracted his Confession, they likewise recalled their Promise of Pardon. *Sharpe* and *Lauderdale*, as well as the Lord *Rothes* and *Halton*, thus denying that they heard any Promise of Life made the Criminal by the Council, he demanded to have the Council Books produc'd; but this was denied him, whereupon he was cast and condemn'd; but when the Lords came to search the Books, they found to their Shame, our Author says, the Act recorded, and sign'd by Lord *Rothes* as President of the Council; and Duke *Lauderdale* thereupon was willing to have repriev'd him; but *Sharpe* said, this was to expose his Person to every Assassin that would attempt to murder him: Whereupon Duke *Lauderdale* said, in an impious Jest, *Let Mitchel glorify God in the Grass Market*, which was the Place where he was to be hang'd. This, our Author observes, was such a Complication of Treachery, Perjury, and Cruelty, as had never been known; and yet, he says, Duke *Lauderdale's* Chaplain, Dr. *Hickes*, afterwards Dean of *Worcester*, publish'd a partial Relation of this Matter, pretending to justify it. Our Author says, he has been the larger upon this, to shew to what a height of Wickedness Men may be carried, when once they have thrown off good Principles. And, he says, 'tis probable, that what *Sharpe* did now to preserve himself, both in the just Judgment of God, and the inflam'd Fury

of wicked Men, brought him two Years after to that dismal End.

This Proceeding made Men more desperate, our Author says; Conventicles became insufferable, being generally guarded by a Troop of arm'd and desperate Men; whereupon Duke *Lauderdale* threaten'd to extirpate them, and ruin the whole Country, if they persisted in their Obstinacy. But though some hot hair-brain'd young Preachers infused wild Notions into their Followers, they were disown'd by the principal Men of the Party, he says; and the Distraction of the Country was principally occasion'd by the strange Administration they were under, Men growing weary of their Country, and even of their Lives, from the Oppression they met with. The Landlords in the Western Countries were requir'd to give Bond for themselves, their Wives, Children, Servants, and Tenants, that they should not frequent Conventicles, or harbour vagrant Teachers, but live according to Law; but this was generally refus'd: whereupon Duke *Lauderdale* writ to the King, that the Country was in a State of Rebellion; and his Majesty left it to him and the Council, to provide for the publick Peace the best they could; and eight thousand *Highlanders* were commanded to the West, to live upon free Quarters, where they robb'd and pillag'd every Thing. Hereupon Duke *Hamilton*, and several of the *Scotch* Nobility came up to *London* to complain to his Majesty, and it being Parliament Time the Thing made a great Noise in *England*; the Earl of *Danby* by supporting *Lauderdale*, our Author says, heighten'd the Prejudice against himself; and his Royal Highness justifying his Conduct, also rais'd a Jealousy of himself, as if he was pleas'd with that sort of Government. But Duke *Lauderdale* taking Advantage of the Absence of the principal Nobility, summon'd a Convention,
and

and procuring a Majority to be return'd for his Purpose, they wrote a Letter to the King, not only justifying, but highly magnifying the Lord *Lauderdale's* Government. However, his arbitrary Proceedings had such an Influence on the *English* Parliament, that they renew'd their Addreses against him, and desir'd a Change of the Ministry; and that his Majesty would dismiss those that had advis'd the long Prorogation, and the deferring to assist his Allies; but the Lord *Danby* summoning all his Forces, gain'd a Majority on the other side, and then procur'd a Message to be sent to the House, demanding an additional Supply of three hundred thousand Pounds a Year, to be granted his Majesty for Life; but this was rejected, and the Lord *Danby* much censur'd for the rash Attempt. At the same Time, he says, he order'd *Montague* to demand of the Court of *France* three hundred thousand Pounds a Year, for three Years, for a Peace; and this was to have maintain'd a standing Army, it was believ'd, and bring the Nation under a military Government; insomuch that the Lord *Danby* became the most hated of any Minister that had been about the King.

The Prince of *Orange*, we are told, endeavour'd to prevent a Peace with *France*; but *De Wit's* Party beginning to gather Strength again in *Holland*, gave out, that the Prince was for continuing the War to serve his own Ends; and the *French* offering to restore all that had been taken from the States, and to give them a tolerable Barrier in *Flanders*, a Peace was resolv'd on. The great Difficulty that remain'd, was, that the King of *Denmark* and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, their Allies, having beaten the *Swede* out of *Germany*, refus'd to restore him his Dominions, and the *French* would make no Peace unless they were restor'd to *Sweden*. In the mean

Time the *French* having block'd up *Mons*, and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* who commanded them being too secure in his Camp, on a Presumption that the Peace was as good as concluded, the Prince attack'd him, and beat him from several Posts. The Prince knew indeed, our Author says, that the Peace was upon the Matter concluded, but no Intimation of it being made to him, this holy Man thinks it was lawful for him to take all Advantages. However that be, the Treaty at *Nimeguen* was finish'd, and soon after ratified; but new Difficulties arising, upon the *French* refusing to evacuate the Places that were to be restor'd, until the *Swedish* Dominions were restor'd, the King of *England* talk'd very high, and threaten'd to renew the War; but the *French* prevented him, by evacuating the Places agreed on in the *Low-Countries*; and the *French* promised to pay *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* their Charges of the War, upon their quitting the *Swedish* Dominions; and so a general Peace was restor'd, and there was no further Occasion for the *English* Troops beyond Sea. The *French*, our Author said, were so apprehensive of them, that they offered the King of *England* six Millions of their Money, if he would disband them in *August* following; but being not disbanded by the Time prefix'd, the *French* King sav'd his Money, and the Troops were brought over to *England*, on Pretence there was not Money to pay them off.

R E M A R K S.

The Lords *Shaftsbury* and *Bucks*, it seems, were still under Apprehensions of being call'd to an Account for the pernicious Advice they had given his Majesty, and therefore left no Means unattempted to procure a Dissolution of the Parliament: They
charg'd

charg'd them with being Pensioners, and with persecuting the Godly; and a hundred other idle Stories they rais'd to render them odious to the People. The Whigs were taught to clamour against long Parliaments, as destructive to the Constitution: They said, they were now no more a true Representative of the People, but Tools to the Court, and gave away the Nation's Treasure, in order to share it among themselves; *but Principles are variable Things, it seems, and frequently shift and differ with the Times.*

When no other Expedient could procure a Dissolution, *Shaftsbury* and his Friends thought they had very luckily hit upon an antiquated Statute or two, which would do their Business. The first was, the 4 *Ed. 3. cap. 14.* which says, *It is accorded, that a Parliament shall be holden every Year once, and more often, if need be.* The other is, the 36 *Ed. 3. cap. 10.* which says, *A Parliament shall be holden every Year, as another Time was ordain'd by another Statute.*

From whence these Gentlemen concluded, that the Prorogation of a Parliament for above a Year was illegal, and amounted to a Dissolution.

To which it was answered, that the Words in the first Statute, *if need be*, referr'd to all that went before, as well to the holding a Parliament every Year, as to the Words, *and more often*, which immediately preceded the Words, *if need be.* But that which put this Matter beyond all doubt, was the Act made the 16 *Car. 2. cap. 1.* which seems to construe these old Statutes, only as an Obligation for holding Parliaments *often*, and that they did not fix any certain Time, but left that to the Discretion of the Crown, and therefore proceed to enact, *that from thenceforward, the sitting and holding of Parliament shall not be intermitted or discontinued above three*

Years at most ; and that within three Years after the Determination of any Parliament, or if there be Occasion oftner, the Crown should issue Writs for holding another Parliament, to the end there might be a frequent calling, assembling, and holding of Parliaments, once in three Years at least.

The Legislature having thus interpreted the afore-said ancient Statutes, and fixed the Time of holding Parliaments to once in three Years, it may be a little wondred at, how our Whig Patriots came to assert, that a Parliament must of Necessity be holden every Year ; but the Desperateness of their Case possibly made them catch at any Twig to save themselves.

I shall not here enter into the Argument, whether frequent Parliaments conduce to the Advantage or Disadvantage of the Kingdom, but only observe the Reasons given for and against them in two Acts, that have passed since the Revolution, The first is the Act of 6 W. and M. cap. 38. entitled, *An Act for the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments.* The Preamble of this Act recites, that *whereas by the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, frequent Parliaments ought to be held: And whereas frequent and NEW PARLIAMENTS tend very much to the happy Union and good Agreement of the King and the People, therefore it is enacted, that from thenceforth a Parliament shall be holden once in three Years at the least ; and that no Parliament shall have Continuance longer than for three Years.* On the contrary, the 1 Geo. cap. 38. recites, that the last mentioned Clause, that no Parliament should have Continuance for more than three Years, had been found by Experience very grievous and burthensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued Expences, in order to the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, and more violent and lasting Heats and Animosities among the Subjects, than were ever known before the said Clause

was

was enacted; and if it should continue, might probably, at that Juncture, when a restless and popish Faction were designing and endeavouring to renew the Rebellion in this Kingdom, and an Invasion from Abroad, be destructive to the Peace and Security of the Government; and therefore *it is enacted, that the present and all future Parliaments should have Continuance for seven Years, unless sooner dissolved by his Majesty.*

So that however Long Parliaments were heretofore thought by the Whigs destructive of the Constitution, and to be against the antient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and that NEW PARLIAMENTS tended much to the happy Union and good Agreement of the King and his People; yet since the Legislature have declar'd that frequent new Parliaments are grievous and burthensome to the Candidates, and occasion such violent Heats among the People, they ought in good Manners for the future to cry up Standing Parliaments, as well as other standing Articles, with the same Zeal they once cry'd them down.

As to the King and the Duke's being surpriz'd or trick'd into a Consent to the Marriage of the Princess *Mary* with the Prince of *Orange*, if we credit our other Historians, there was very little Colour for this Piece of secret History; Mr. *Echard* says, that the Prince declar'd to his Majesty as soon as he came over, that he would see the Princess before he enter'd upon any other Business; and that the Court, to oblige him, immediately remov'd from *New-Market* to *White-Hall*, to give him an Opportunity of making his Addresses to that Lady; so that it is evident they had time enough to deliberate upon the Match: And a thing of that Consequence was not huddled up in two or three Hours, as our Author would have us believe; and why he

should pretend it was, unless he was afraid it might be thought that the King or his Royal Highness, for once, deliberately consented to a thing that was apprehended to be for the Interest of the Nation, I can't conceive. So great a Good as the entering into this strict Alliance with the Prince of *Orange*, must be the Effect of Chance, according to *Dr. Burnet*; it cou'd never proceed from a mature deliberate Choice either of the Father or Uncle: For cou'd it be suppos'd they would upon due Consideration thus unite themselves to the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, whom they and the *French King* were in a Confederacy to destroy? This, our Author probably thought, wou'd appear highly inconsistent with what he had advanc'd before; and to bring himself off therefore gives out that this Match was brought about by Surprise. Tho' this appears no less false than his other Suggestion, that the Court of *England* was still, under Hand, dealing with the Court of *France* to destroy the *States General*, and enslave the Subjects of *Britain*; and so firmly was this Conceit rooted in the Whigs, that the sending over a Body of Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, to the Assistance of the *Dutch* against the *French*, could not convince them of the contrary; or rather, their Leaders, with whom our Author pretends to be so very conversant, were resolv'd nothing should satisfy them.

The next thing we are entertain'd with, is a most improbable Story, that Archbishop *Sharpe*, the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the Lord *Rothes*, and Lord *Halton*, all of them solemnly perjur'd themselves at the Trial of *Mitchel* the Assassin, who attempted to murder the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. I must confess I have not yet met with the Trial itself, or the Account *Dr. Hicke*s has given of this Matter, who has, I am inform'd, fully justify'd the whole Proceeding;

ing; but shall only make some Observations on the Relation our Author has given us: First, he tells us that *Primrose* was Lord Register at the time *Mitchel* made his Confession, and was one of the Council who examin'd him, and attested the Confession: That *Primrose* also search'd the Council-Books just before the Trial, and found an Act whereby *Mitchel* was promis'd his Life; and yet this same *Primrose* was one of the Judges who sat upon the Trial of *Mitchel*, and never offer'd to depose any thing of this nature; so that if it was true that there was such an Act, and he knew of it, surely he must be more guilty of this Man's Death than any of those noble Lords who must be suppos'd to have forgot there was any such Act, if there was one: for what Inducement could so many great Lords and Ministers of State have to perjure themselves in this Matter? *Mitchel* had no Estate to tempt them; nor does our Author assign any one Reason why they should thus expose their Reputations, to take away this Man's Life. And after all, it appears from our Author, that there could be no absolute Promise made him of Life, because the Council had no such Power; and had the Books been produc'd, and it had appear'd the Council had promis'd they would intercede for his Life, (which is all they could contain,) this would not have sav'd *Mitchel*, or have shewn they were perjur'd. And it appears further, from our Author, that *Mitchel* retracted his Confession in a Court of Justice, and that thereupon the Council retracted their Promise of interceding for him; neither would *Mitchel* make any Discovery of his Accomplices in the Rebellion, and those Promises were made upon Condition of a full Discovery: However, *Mitchel* had never been executed, but for the repeated Threats the Government and Ministers of State met with from his

Confederates every Day, of being assassinated themselves; and the Execution was so far from being at the Instance of his Grace the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, that he mov'd in Council to have him repriev'd.

It may be observ'd further, that these four great Ministers of State, whom our Author charges with solemn Perjury, he has also express'd a most malicious and inveterate Hatred to, throughout his whole Book. And further, it is hardly possible *Primrose* should relate this Matter to him in the Manner he has told it, because it casts so great a Reflection on *Primrose* himself, that he should sit upon the Bench all the while, and never depose his Knowledge of this Act of Council, if there was any such thing. Add to this, that if those Lords depos'd there was no such Act of Council, it was more than they were oblig'd to have done; for as it could be only a Promise to intercede for him, if they had acknowledg'd it, it would not have avail'd the Prisoner: So that they that believe Dr. *Burnet* in this Article, must believe that they perjur'd themselves only for the sake of being perjur'd.

However, our Author, in the usual Language of the Brethren, looks upon the Murder of the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* as a just Judgment of God for the Prosecution of innocent *Mitchel*, that pious Rebel and Assassin; for he was one of those that did not cut Throats for Necessity, or to prevent Discovery; but did it piously and devoutly, in the Name of the Lord; looking upon himself to be commission'd from Heaven to rid the Earth of such Monsters as Bishops and Archbishops, and all other Governors, Civil as well as Ecclesiastical, who pretend to Lord it over God's peculiar People, and think to subject them to human Laws.

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These Proceedings, he says, made Men (that is, the Fanatics,) more desperate; they came guarded to their Conventicles with Troops of armed Men, and defy'd the Government, and yet imputes their Rebellion wholly to the Tyranny of the Administration; when all that the Government did, upon their refusing to give Security for their peaceable Behaviour, was only to post Troops in several Parts of the Country, to prevent the several Bodies of Rebels joining one another; and these the Saints often surpriz'd and massacred in their Quarters in the Night-time. And after all, what weighs with me more than any thing our Author has said to the contrary is, that the Convention, which was summon'd at this time, not only justify'd, but highly commended the Lord *Lauderdale's* Administration to his Majesty; which it cannot be presum'd they wou'd have done, if the People had been oppress'd in the manner our Author relates.

It is observable that our Author himself acknowledges, when the *Dutch* had too hastily clapt up a Peace with the *French*, without any time fix'd for the Evacuation of the frontier Towns in *Flanders*, which were to be their Barrier, that King *Charles* compell'd the *French* to evacuate those Places. He adds, that the *French* were so apprehensive of the *English* Forces, that they offer'd him six Millions of Livres to disband them. Now could any one but Dr. *Burnet* believe there was at the same time any private Agreement between the Kings of *England* and *France*, for subduing the *Dutch*, and rendering King *Charles* absolute at Home, when the *French* had such a Dread of the *English* Troops, and offer'd so great a Sum to have them disbanded? That the Whigs shou'd have the Confidence to attempt to impose such improbable Stories upon the World, is no less Matter of Wonder, than that they shou'd

shou'd find any so weak as to be impos'd on by them: I can but pity poor Mr. *Echard*, who seems to give into this idle Tale, in his Paragraph of *Godsfish*, p. 940. To proceed, every one must observe, that our Author endeavours to represent the Assistance *England* gave the *Dutch* upon this Occasion, as mighty inconsiderable, and seems to resolve it all into a few big Words, and the sending over a Detachment of the Guards, p. 412, 423. when he very well knew that we had ten thousand Men in *Flanders*, and that with these it was that the Prince of *Orange* obtain'd that Victory over the *French* at *Mons*; and that the Terror of these oblig'd the *French* to evacuate the Barrier Towns, which the *Dutch* were in no Capacity of compelling them to do: And the Peace which they had so hastily and foolishly agreed to, would have been of more pernicious Consequence to them than the War, if King *Charles* had not compell'd the *French* to have made good that Article. And now the Reader may observe the Reason why our Author speaks so exceeding slightly of the Forces and Assistance King *Charles* sent the *Dutch*; namely, that if he had spoken out, and told the Matter as it was, it must have shock'd every common Reader, to find him still suggesting that King *Charles* was in the Interest of *France*. He did well to mention only a Detachment of the Guards being sent over, and some big Words spoken; this was most consistent with what he endeavour'd to insinuate, that King *Charles* was still in the Interest of *France*. But further, it is universally acknowledg'd to be the Interest of *Britain* to hold the Balance even; and our Princes must be destitute of common Sense to lie still, and see the *French* make themselves Masters of the *Low-Countries*; though, on the other hand, the Consequences might be as bad to suffer

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the *Dutch* to deprive us of our Trade, and engross all the Traffick of the World to themselves, as the late Lord *Haversham* observed.

There is such a Thing as a Balance of Trade, as well as a Balance of Power; nay, if we suffer a People to be Masters of the Trade of the World, the Power will probably follow it; and as the *Dutch* Trade is carried on chiefly by Sea, should they never meet with any Check or Interruption from *England*, they would soon have the Dominion of the Sea, which we are pleas'd to call our proper Province. This was the universal Opinion of the People as well as the Prince, in the first *Dutch* War; in the second indeed the King and the Nation seem'd to differ in their Sentiments at first. The Parliament dreaded the *French* making themselves too great at Land, as the King did the *Dutch* being too powerful by Sea; and neither of them possibly were much in the wrong. The *French* made a swifter Progress in *Holland* than was expected: On the other hand, we find the *Dutch* so encreased in their Naval Force since the last War, that they were almost a Match for us. But the *Dutch* were no sooner humbled, and the growing Power of *France* come to appear formidable, but we see his Majesty clapt up a Peace with the States, and join'd his Forces with them against the *French*; still endeavouring to hold the Balance equal, and not too much to exalt one Side, or depress the other. There will never be wanting People indeed, whose Ignorance or their Interests will induce them to censure the Conduct of their Governors; and we shall ever find one part of the Nation crying out on the Encroachments of the *Dutch*, as the other does of sacrificing the Nation to the *French*, and introducing Popery and Slavery. Each Party, as their Leaders have Interests to serve, will, as they are bid, clamour
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at the one or the other. But to see our Reverend Historians gravely giving in to every little Story that was rais'd to serve a Turn, and never design'd to last longer than the Day wherein it was made: To see them collect every idle Report, and record it as secret History, without the least Foundation or Shadow of Truth, has justly brought our *English* History under that Contempt we find it; and tho' our Writers are acknowledg'd to excel in other Attempts, in this, 'tis observ'd, they fail most intolerably, and come short of every other Nation in *Europe*.

ABRIDGMENT.

Here our Author gives us the History of what was called the Popish Plot, which he thinks himself better qualified to write than any Man, being instructed in all the Steps of it.

Dr. *Tongue*, he says, came to him three Days before *Michaelmas*, 1678, and told him of strange Designs against the King's Person; and that *Conyers*, a Benedictine, had provided a Poniard to kill him. *Tongue*, he says, was a Gardiner and Chymist, and full of Projects, but poor; a very mean Divine, credulous and simple, but our Author had always look'd upon him to be sincere; however, he did not know whether the Man was craz'd, or came to him with a Design to involve him in the Guilt of concealing Treason, so he sent Dr. *Loyd* to the Secretaries Office, to give an Account of what *Tongue* had said, and found that *Tongue* had been making Discoveries before at the Office, which they did not seem to regard, but thought *Tongue* only intended to get himself made a Dean.

The Day after this, *Titus Oates* was brought before the Council: He was the Son of an Anabaptist Teacher,

Teacher, who had conformed and enter'd into Orders, as his Son also had done : The Son was an ignorant Man, but proud, ill-natur'd, and haughty ; and Complaints had been exhibited against him, for very indecent Expressions concerning the Mysteries of Christianity. He had also been presented for Perjury, and being Chaplain of a Man of War was dismiss'd, upon Complaint of some unnatural Practices not to be nam'd. Being admitted Chaplain to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and discovering an Inclination to Popery, *Hutchinson*, a Jesuit in that Family, had the Honour of his Conversion. Our Author was intimate with *Hutchinson*, who told him, that *Oates* and the Jesuits were always in ill Terms, and that they allowed *Oates* but Nine-pence a Day, of which he complained mightily, and *Hutchinson* often reliev'd him. The Jesuits wanted to get rid of *Oates*, we are told, and so sent him beyond Sea ; and *Hutchinson* concludes, that at that Time *Oates* was not entrusted with their Secrets. He kept some Time at *St. Omers*, and was sent from thence through *France* into *Spain*, and now return'd to *England*. He made his first Discovery to *Tongue*, who had been his old Acquaintance. *Tongue* thereupon procur'd himself to be brought to the King, and told him of many Designs and Attempts to take away his Life, which the King did not know what to make of, and therefore sent him to Lord *Danby*, who seem'd to flight the Matter, and handle it a little too remisly, our Author thinks. In the mean Time a Pacquet of Letters relating to Plots and Conspiracies were sent to *Bedingfield*, the Duke of *York's* Confessor, by the Post, which the Duke carried to the King, protesting he did not know what they meant, or from whom they came ; and the King believ'd they were written by *Tongue* or *Oates*, and sent on Design to have them intercepted, to give the greater Credit to their Discovery.

Oates,

Qates, on *Michaelmas* Eve, declared before the Council, that he had heard many Discourses from the Jesuits of a Design to kill the King, and nam'd Persons, Places, and Times, almost without Number; adding, that several Jesuits were gone to *Scotland* to hold Field-Conventicles, to distract the Government there. He told them, that he was sent first to *St. Omers*, then to *Paris*, and from thence to *Spain*, to negotiate this Design, and that upon his Return to *London* in *April* last, he brought many Dispatches from beyond Sea; whereupon there was a great Meeting of the Jesuits in *London*, at a Tavern near *St. Clement's*, and being divided in several Companies, he was employed to convey the Resolutions of those in one Room, to those in the others, and they came to a Resolution to kill the King, by shooting, stabbing, or poisoning him; and that several Attempts had accordingly been made, but fail'd in the Execution: That he intended to have waited for further Evidence of the Conspiracy, but the Jesuits grew jealous of him, and he durst not trust himself amongst them any longer. In all this Discovery, our Author observes, there was no mention made of *Conyers* stabbing the King, as *Tongue* had told him.

Upon this Evidence of *Qates* before the Council, many Jesuits were seiz'd, with their Papers; and *Coleman* was accus'd of a Correspondence with Father *Le Chaise*, whom *Qates*, our Author observes, call'd Father *Le Chee*, and depos'd, that *Coleman* was acquainted with all the Jesuits Designs.

Coleman, our Author observes, had a whole Day's Notice, wherein he might have made his Escape, if he had apprehended any Danger, and had convey'd all his Papers away, but those relating to the Years 74, 75, and part of 76, which he forgot. If he had either left all, or sent away all his Papers, our
 Author

Author thinks it would have been happy for his Party; for if all had been left, it would have been concluded the whole Secret lay in them, but there remain'd just enough to give a great Jealousy, and thereupon all was believ'd that the Witnesses depos'd. *Coleman* having kept out of the Way one Day, surrender'd himself to the Secretary of State; and when *Oates* and he were confronted, *Oates* did not know him till he heard him speak, and then he charg'd him only upon Hearsay. *Oates* also nam'd *Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician, but declar'd he knew nothing against him. Nor did he so much as name *Langhorn*, the famous Lawyer, who manag'd all their Concerns; and *Oates* pretending that he was carried to *Don John* in *Spain*, who promis'd to assist the Jesuits in their Designs, the King ask'd him what sort of a Man *Don John* was; and *Oates* answer'd, he was a tall, lean Man, whereby the King found him out, for he knew *Don John* very well was a little fat Man. *Oates* design'd at first, our Author thinks, to recommend himself to the Duke and the Ministry; for he affirm'd, he heard the Jesuits often say, that the Duke was not sure enough to them, and they doubted, whether he would approve of killing the King; but resolv'd, if they found him stiff in that Matter, to murder him also. He said, they often us'd the Duke's Name, and counterfeited his Hand and Seal without his Knowledge; that the Jesuits cherish'd the Faction in *Scotland* against Duke *Lauderdale*, and design'd to murder the Duke of *Ormond*. He pretended also, that the Papists set the City on Fire, and that they design'd then to have kill'd the King, but relented, when they saw him so active in quenching it.

Coleman's Letters mentioning a Design so many Years before of converting the Nation, and rooting

out this pestilent Northern Herefy, as it was there stil'd, gave great Credit to the Plot.

Two Days after *Oates* attended the Council, the King going to *New-Market* to see the Horse Races, this was censur'd, our Author observes, as a very indecent piece of Levity, when all People were so possess'd with these extraordinary Discoveries against his Life.

About this Time, *Tongue* sent for our Author to *Whitehall*, where he and *Oates* were both lodg'd with a Guard for their Security. *Tongue* was so lifted up, our Author says, that he seem'd to have lost the little Sense he had. *Oates* came to our Author with a Compliment, that he was one of them that were mark'd out to be kill'd, and the same Compliment he had paid *Stillingfleet* before; but our Author thought he made that Honour too cheap, when he told them, *Tongue* was to be serv'd in the same manner, for translating the Jesuits Morals. *Oates* broke out, he says, into a mighty Fury against the Jesuits, and said, he would have their Blood. Our Author to divert him, demanded what it was that prevail'd on him to change his Religion, and turn Papist: Whereupon *Oates* stood up, he says, and laying his Hands on his Breast, said, God and his holy Angels knew he never chang'd, but went amongst them *on Purpose to betray them*, which gave our Author such a Character of him, that he never after gave any Regard to what he said, or swore.

But what contributed more than any Thing to the Belief of the Popish Plot, was the Murder of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*: He was esteem'd, our Author says, the best Justice of Peace in *England*, and kept the Quarter where he liv'd in very good Order, and was then entring upon a great Design of setting all the Beggars to work. He was a zealous Protestant, we are told, and lov'd the Church of *England*, but yet

yet thought kindly of the Dissenters, and was not forward in putting the Laws in Execution against them; and to avoid being put upon it, neglected the searching for Priests or Mals-Houses, and so liv'd in better Terms with the Papists, than Men of his Zeal usually did.

Oates, the Day before he appear'd at the Council Board, made Oath before *Godfrey* of the Truth of the Narrative he intended to make, to prevent his Evidence being stifled by the Council; and *Godfrey* was reprimanded for meddling in so tender a Matter; and *Coleman* was believ'd to have had a long Conversation with him, while he was in the Messengers Hands. *Godfrey* certainly grew very apprehensive and reserv'd, and told our Author, he says, that he believ'd he should be knock'd on the Head, but however walk'd the Streets without a Servant as he us'd to do. On the *Saturday* Fortnight after *Oates* made his Discovery, *Godfrey* went out in the Morning, and was seen about one a Clock near *St. Clement's* Church, but was never after seen alive: His Servants imagined he was gone to *Hammer-smith* to his Mother's, but not hearing of him there, the next Morning they acquainted his two Brothers who liv'd in the City, and they fancied he was gone out of the Way for Debt; but no Creditors appearing on *Tuesday*, they publish'd his being lost. The Council assembled upon it, and were about to order a Search, but were diverted by several Stories brought them by the Duke of *Norfolk*, whose Officioufness in this Matter, and *Godfrey's* being last seen near *Arundel* House, brought the Duke under great Suspicion; and on *Thursday* Night late, *Godfrey's* Body was found in a Ditch near *St. Pancras* Church, with his Sword through him; no Blood on his Cloaths or about him; his Shoes clean, and his Money in his Pocket; nothing about his Neck, but a Mark

round it an Inch broad, which shew'd he was strangled; his Breast also had several Bruises, and his Neck was broke, all which our Author saw when he went to view the Body with Dr. *Lloyd*, and many Drops of white Wax Lights, which he never us'd himself, being found on his Breeches, such Lights being only us'd by Persons of Quality or Priests, made all People conclude in whose Hands he had been.

The Parliament meeting about this Time, *Oates* made a new Edition of his Discovery before the Commons, and his Evidence was so well believ'd, that it was not safe to doubt the Truth of any part of it. He now said, that the Pope declared himself the Sovereign of *England*, and had given a Commission to the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* to be Chancellor; Lord *Powis* was made Treasurer, Sir *William Godolphin*, Privy-Seal, *Coleman*, Secretary of State, *Bellasis*, General, *Petre*, Lieutenant General, *Ratcliffe*, Major General, *Stafford*, Paymaster General, and *Langhorn*, Advocate General, and had issued many other Commissions to inferior Officers. Of these, our Author observes, *Bellasis* was always ill of the Gout: *Petre* was a weak Man, and had never any military Command, and *Ratcliffe* had never stirr'd from Home all the last Summer; and *Lambert* whom he had charg'd with being in the Design, had been kept in Prison ever since the Restoration, and had lost his Memory and his Senses at that Time. *Oates* depos'd he had deliver'd many of these Commissions himself; and it was strange, our Author observes, that he should never keep one of them to support his Evidence, when he acknowledg'd he went among the Jesuits only to betray them. It was observ'd also, that he now swore both against *Coleman* and *Wakeman* upon his own Knowledge; particularly, that *Coleman* had given fourscore Guineas to four
Ruffians

Ruffians to stab the King last Summer at *Windsor*, and that *Wakeman* was offer'd ten thousand Pounds to poison him, and afterwards procur'd a Promise of fifteen thousand Pounds. It seems strange, our Author says, that he should forget this, which was the principal Part of his Evidence when he was before the Council, and only charg'd them there upon hearsay, and not so much as knew them when he was confronted with them; and his suffering the four Ruffians to go down to *Windsor* to kill the King, and not giving his Majesty any Notice of it, was not very agreeable to the Professions he had made to the King; that whereas others only ventur'd their Lives, he had ventur'd his Soul to serve him. These were Circumstances, our Author thinks, strong enough to have created a Suspicion, if *Coleman's* Letters, and *Godfrey's* Murder had not been deem'd such Confirmations of the Plot, as left no room to doubt of it.

Bedlow about this Time surrender'd himself to the Magistrates at *Bristol*, pretending to make a Discovery of *Godfrey's* Murder; and being brought up to *London*, at his Examination before the Secretary in his Majesty's Presence, he said, he knew nothing of the Plot, but had heard that forty thousand Men were to come over from *Spain*, though where there was a Fleet to bring them over he cou'd not tell. He said, he had seen *Godfrey's* Body at *Somerset* House, and he was offer'd four thousand Pounds by a Servant of the Lord *Bellasis* to help to carry it away; but he went down to *Bristol*, where he entertain'd such a Horror of the Fact, that it forced him to discover it. This *Bedlow* had led a very vicious Life, our Author says, gone by false Names, whereby he had cheated several People; had been in *France* and *Spain*, where he pretended to be a Man of Quality, and liv'd by cheating; so that our Au-

thor does not think him much subject to Tenderneſs of Conſcience, eſpecially ſeeing, that when he was brought to the Lords Bar, he pretended of his own Knowledge to make a full Diſcovery of the Plot, and of the aboveſaid Popiſh Lords who had been committed to the Tower on *Oates's* Information. The King, our Author ſays, was convinced, that Somebody had been with *Bedlow* after he had been examined before the Secretary, and inſtructed him what to ſay; for that he had the Night before profeſſed he knew nothing of the Plot, and yet he now not only confirm'd a great part of *Oates's* Evidence, but added a great deal to it; pretending, that his rambling over *Europe* was in order to carry on the Deſign, and that he was entrusted with the Secret.

The Proſecution of *Staley* the Goldſmith for the Popiſh Plot, our Author thinks to be very hard; for the Evidence againſt him was one *Carſtairs*, a *Scotchman*, a profligate Villain, he ſays, who did it only to get Money out of *Staley*; which when our Author aſſured the Earl of *Shaftsbury* of, he would hear nothing againſt the Witneſs, but ſaid, they muſt ſupport the Evidence, and all thoſe who undermined the Credit of the Witneſſes, were to be look'd on as publick Enemies, and ſo *Staley* was convicted and executed; and though he was offer'd his Life if he would diſcover the Plot, Dr. *Lloyd* who viſited him in Priſon, told our Author, he proteſted he knew of none, and that he had not ſaid the Words ſworn againſt him, nor any Thing to that Purpoſe. What took off much of *Oates's* Credit, our Author obſerves, was, that when he was examined by the Houſe of Lords, and ask'd, if he had now named all the Perſons he knew to be concern'd in the Plot, he ſaid, there might be ſome inferior People whom he might have forgot, but he had

had nam'd all the Persons of Note, and yet some Time afterwards he charg'd the Queen with being in the Plot; and *Bedlow* also pretended to support *Oates's* Evidence in that Particular.

Coleman being brought to his Trial, *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore positively that he was concern'd in the Conspiracy to kill the King; but he denied that he had ever seen any of the Witnesses before, and objected, that *Oates* did not know him when they were first confronted, and did not give the Evidence against him he gave now, until a great while after. He desired also, that *Oates* might name what Day in *August* he sent the fourscore Guineas to the Russians to kill the King, *Coleman* being able to prove himself out of Town almost all that Month, but *Oates* would fix no Day. Then *Coleman* insisted on the Improbability of his talking of such dangerous Things, before two Men, who acknowledg'd they had never seen him before. And indeed, our Author observes, that his Letters to Father *Le Chaise* were the strongest Evidence against him; and he acknowledg'd his Endeavours to have introduced the Catholick Religion, but said, he never thought of doing it by Rebellion, but by a Toleration, and that the Assistance he requir'd from *France* in his Letters, was only the Assistance of Money, and the Interposition of that Court. However, he was convicted, and condemn'd, but continued to the last Hour to deny every Tittle the Witnesses had sworn against him, notwithstanding the Members of both Houses offer'd to procure him his Pardon if he would confess. To render the Duke odious at this Time, our Author observes, it was given out, that *Coleman* refus'd to confess upon the Hopes the Duke had given him of a Pardon at *Tyburn*; but *Coleman* could not be so ignorant, our Author

says, as not to know it was not in the King's Power to pardon him, while the Tide run so strong.

The Nation was so much alarm'd at these pretended Discoveries, that all Men furnish'd themselves with Arms, and a Bill passed both Houses, for raising the Militia for six Weeks, but was refus'd the Royal Assent. His Majesty sent for our Author at this Time, he says, to talk over the Matter with him; and *we agreed in one Thing*, says Parson Burnet, *that the greatest part of the Evidence was a Contrivance.* The King suspected that *Shaftsbury* had instructed *Oates*, though our Author was of another Mind; for he thought, *by the many gross Things in his Narrative*, there were no abler Heads than *Oates* and *Tongue* concern'd in it; and *Oates* in his first Depositions seem'd so favourable to the Duke and the Ministry, that it was clear Lord *Shaftsbury* had no Hand in it, for he hated them much more than Popery. His Majesty apprehended a Rebellion was intended, but our Author assur'd him, there was no Appearance of it, and press'd him much to oblige the Duke to enter into Conferences with some Protestant Divines, and be present at them himself, which would clear him of some Jealousies, and give the World Hopes, as *Harry* the Fourth of *France* had done, who thus kept a Party firm to him, sometime before he chang'd. The King answer'd, his Brother had neither *Harry* the Fourth's Understanding, or his Conscience. *Harry* the Fourth was indifferent to those Matters. His Majesty appearing so backward in the Matter of a Conference, our Author was confirm'd, he says, in what he had heard, that the King had promis'd never to speak to him of Religion. As to what *Oates* had depos'd against the Queen, she was a weak Woman, the King said, and had some disagreeable Humours, but

but was not capable of a wicked Design; and thought it a horrid thing to abandon her: That he look'd upon Falshood and Cruelty as the greatest Sins: He knew he had led a bad Life, and spoke with some Sense of it, but said he was breaking himself of all his Faults, and would never do a base and wicked Thing. Our Author encourag'd him much not to expose the Queen to perish by false Swearing; and advis'd him to a Change of his Ministry, for that the Earl of *Danby* was become odious: But after all, our Author found the King was reserv'd to him, because he would not enter into Particulars, or name Persons; whereupon he told his Majesty, since he had that Opinion of him, *he could do him no Service*, nor would trouble him any more, unless he should discover any thing which might be of Consequence to his Person or Government.

Ireland, *Whitebread* and *Fenwick*, three Jesuits, with *Grove* and *Pickering*, two Servants in the Queen's Chapel, were try'd for the Plot. *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore positively, that *Ireland* had given Orders for killing the King in *August* last; *Oates* depos'd as much against the other two Jesuits, but *Bedlow* swearing only upon Hear-say, as to them, their Trial was put off to another time, though the Jury was sworn, and the Evidence given; which our Author complain'd of to *Jones*, he says, but he told him there had been Precedents of it: Whereupon our Author observes, that the Crown had such Advantages in Trials of Treason, that he wondred how any Man was ever acquitted.

Ireland brought Evidence, in his Defence, that he went into *Staffordshire* the 2d of *August*, and did not return till the 12th of *September*: To contradict which, a Woman depos'd, She saw him in *London*, the middle of *August*. Against *Grove* and *Pickering*,
- *Oates*

Oates and *Bedlow* depos'd, that they undertook to shoot the King at *Windsor*; for which *Grove* was to have fifteen hundred Pounds, and *Pickering* thirty thousand Masses; which amounted to as much, at twelve Pence a Mass. Three several Times the Witnesses depos'd that they attempted to shoot the King; but once the Flint was loose, another time there was no Powder in the Pan, and a third time the Pistol was only loaded with Bullets. This was strange Stuff, our Author observes, but all was ascrib'd to the special Providence of God; the Witnesses were believ'd, and the Prisoners convicted and executed, professing their Innocence to the last; which began to affect the Witnesses Credit, until one *Dugdale* arose, who had been Bailiff to the Lord *Aston*, and had a fair Reputation in the Country: This Man was committed to Prison for refusing the Oaths, and at first, with many Imprecations, deny'd that he knew any thing of the Plot, but afterwards pretended to discover a Correspondence which *Evers*, the Lord *Aston's* Jesuit, held with the Jesuits in *London*: He depos'd, They had written to *Evers*, to find out Men proper to be employ'd in the killing the King: This Letter was directed to *Dugdale* himself, he said, but design'd for *Evers*. *Dugdale* also depos'd, That *Gavan*, another Jesuit, press'd him to assist in murdering the King; and promis'd he should be canoniz'd for a Saint if he did; and the Lord *Stafford* offer'd him 500*l.* as a further Encouragement: And what confirm'd *Dugdale's* Evidence, was, that he had talk'd of a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, that was murder'd the *Tuesday* after *Godfrey* was missing; this was sworn by several Persons that heard him, tho' the two Persons he spoke it to remembred nothing of it; and one of them was the Minister of the Parish. This News of *Godfrey's* Death, *Dugdale* depos'd,

depos'd, he saw in a Letter, written by *Harcourt* the Jesuit, to *Evers*: He depos'd also, That the Duke of York sent to *Coleman* in *Newgate*, to know whether he had discover'd those Designs to any person; and *Coleman* answering that he had spoken of them to none but *Godfrey*, the Duke thereupon gave Orders to kill him. But our Author says he was amaz'd to see nothing of this Nature break out till the Lord *Stafford's* Trial; but was told by the Earl of *Effex* that he swore it at his first Examination: But it being only hear-say Evidence, and tending only to heighten the Fury against the Duke, the King charg'd *Dugdale* to conceal it.

Prance, a Goldsmith, who work'd to the Queen's Chapel, was now taken up, on Suspicion of being concern'd in *Godfrey's* Murder, having been absent from his House about that time; and being carry'd to *Westminster*, *Bedlow*, accidentally passing by, charg'd him as one he had seen about *Godfrey's* Body; which he deny'd for some Days, but afterwards confess'd it, and said that *Girald* and *Killy*, two Priests, engag'd him; and one *Green*, who belong'd to the Queen's Chapel, with *Hill*, and *Berry* the Porter of *Somerset-house*, to be concern'd in it; and that the Priests told him it was no Sin, but a meritorious Action, to kill *Godfrey*, who was a busy Man in taking Depositions against them; and it would terrify others from doing the like: That they follow'd *Godfrey* several Days; and the Morning he was missing, *Hill* went to his House, and stay'd for his coming out; which was confirm'd by *Godfrey's* Maid. *Prance* said, they watch'd him to a Place near *St. Clement's* Church, where he staid till Night; and as he came by the Water-Gate of *Somerset-house*, two of them pretended to be in a Quarrel, while another run out to call a Justice of Peace, and press'd *Godfrey* to come in and part them; *Green* then

then got behind *Godfrey*, and putting a Cravat about his Neck, they pull'd him down, and strangled him, and carry'd the Body to Mr. *Godden's* Room, of which *Hill*, who was Servant to *Godden*, had the Key, his Master being then in *France*. Two Days after they remov'd the Body to a Room across the Upper Court, which our Author observes, *Prance* could never describe; but not liking that Place, they carried it back again to *Godden's* Lodgings. On *Wednesday* they carried it out into the Fields in a Sedan, and then *Green* laid it on a Horse's Back, and carried it to the Place where it was found. The Priests made their Escape; but *Green*, *Berry* and *Hill* were apprehended upon this Evidence. Some Days after, *Prance* desir'd to be brought to the King, but he would not see him but in Council, where *Prance* deny'd all he had sworn, and said it was a Fiction; and sometimes he affirm'd it, and sometimes deny'd it: And Dr. *Lloyd* being sent to him, he deny'd it to him; but the Doctor observing he was almost dead with Cold, order'd a Fire to be made, and that he should be put to Bed; and when he was refresh'd he return'd to his Confession, which the Doctor did not doubt was sincere: And to persisting in his first Confession, the Prisoners were brought to their Trial, and *Bedlow* and *Prance* appear'd as Evidence against them. Several Witnesses for the Prisoners depos'd, that they came home in good Time, on the Night the Fact was said to be done. And the Persons who liv'd in *Godden's* Lodgings depos'd, that no dead Body could be brought thither, for they were every Day in the Room that *Prance* named. And the Soldiers who were Centinels, depos'd, that no Sedan was carried out that Night the Body was said to be carried away. However, the Prisoners were convicted, and executed, declaring their Innocence to the last, with

with the most solemn Protestations. *Green* and *Hill* died Papists; but *Berry* the Porter died a Protestant, declaring that he profess'd himself a Catholick, only to save his Place; and he look'd upon this Punishment as a Judgment upon him for his Dissimulation: And Doctor *Lloyd*, who attended him, our Author says, was perswaded of his Sincerity, and thought that *Prance* might mistake him for some other Person, the Body being carried about in the dark; though he believ'd *Prance* had sworn truly in the main.

Prance after this begun to improve in his Evidence, and to depose, that he had often heard them talk of killing the King, and of a general Massacre, when they had rais'd an Army. *Dugdale* also depos'd, that he heard a Massacre was intended, whereupon our Author observes, that it added very little Credit to their Evidence, that the Papists should talk thus commonly of killing the King, as if it had been a common piece of News. But he says, there are Seasons for believing, as well as disbelieving; and believing was then so much in Fashion, that Improbabilities or Inconsistencies were little minded; it was not safe for any Man to make Reflections on them, this was call'd blasting the Plot, and disparaging the King's Evidence.

Scroggs, our Author says, whose Life had been scandalous, and his Fortunes low, had been rais'd by the Earl of *Danby* to be Lord Chief Justice; and it was a melancholy Thing, to see so bad, so ignorant, and so poor a Man in such a Post. He run in with the Stream, with so much Zeal, our Author says, that he became the Favourite of the People; for in all the Trials, with indecent Earnestness, he procur'd the Prisoners to be convicted, until he saw the King did not approve of it, and then he grew colder, and began to neglect and check the Witnesses.

Jennison,

Jennison, a younger Brother of a good Family, observing that *Ireland's* principal Defence was, that he was out of Town from the beginning of *August* to the 12th of *September*, pretended surpriz'd that *Ireland* should die affirming it, and upon this turn'd Protestant; for he saw *Ireland* in *London*, he said, on the 19th of *August*, and talk'd with him of the King's going abroad unattended, and how easy a Matter it would be to take him off. This *Jennison* said at first, in the Letter he sent up to *London*, was all he knew, upon his Salvation, &c. and yet afterwards publish'd a long Narrative of his Knowledge of the Plot, that he himself had been dealt with to kill the King, and nam'd the four *Russians* who went to *Windsor* to do it; and one *Smith* also, who had been Priest to *Jennison's* Father, a vicious Man, our Author says, turn'd Protestant, and depos'd, there was a Design of killing the King talk'd of at *Rome*, but did not enter into Particulars; and no real Proofs appearing, besides *Coleman's* Letters, and *Godfrey's* Murder, a Proclamation issued, offering a Pardon and two hundred Pound, to any one who should make a further Discovery, which our Author thought too great an Encouragement to Perjury.

But while the Witnesses of the Plot were destroying their own Credit, our Author observes, some Practices were us'd in behalf of the Popish Lords, which contributed to make it believ'd. *Reading*, a Counsellor, being employ'd by the Lords in the Tower to sollicit their Affairs, applied himself to *Bedlow*, lent him Money, and offered him more, if he would turn his Evidence against them into hearsay; and *Reading* being prosecuted for this, said, that seeing innocent Blood was like to be shed, he did not indeed stick at some indirect Means to prevent it, but acquitted the Lords in the Tower

of having any Hand in the Affair; only Lord *Stafford*, he said, offer'd in general, two hundred Pound to be dispos'd of as *Reading* saw fit.

Reading pretended indeed, that *Bedlow* put him upon discovering what the Lords in the Tower would give him to soften his Evidence; but *Bedlow* was too cunning for him, and acquainted Prince *Rupert* and Lord *Essex* with the Applications made to him, and planted two Witnesses to hear the Discourse that pass'd between him and *Reading*, and so *Reading* was convicted, and set in the Pillory, for tampering with the King's Witnesses. This, our Author observes, proved much to the Disadvantage of the Popish Lords; though nothing was really proved of their being concerned in these Practices, but only against *Reading*.

Bedlow pretended also, that *Reading* had prevail'd on him to stifle his Evidence against the two Jesuits, and now resolv'd to swear directly against them; but our Author thinks, he ought never to have been suffer'd to be a Witness any more, when by his own Confession he had sworn falsely at their Trial; and though at first he depos'd he knew nothing of his own Knowledge against the two Jesuits, he afterwards swore copiously against them upon his own Knowledge: And such was the Violence of the Times, that *Wild*, a worthy ancient Judge, telling *Bedlow* he was a perjur'd Man, and ought no more to come into a Court, was turn'd out for his Freedom with this Witness.

But another Thing that contributed at that Time to support *Oates's* Evidence, was, that *Oates's* Servants having talk'd of an unnatural Attempt of their Master upon one of them, among some People who belong'd to the Lord *Danby*, upon which *Oates* was threaten'd to be prosecuted, he procur'd his Servants to deny what they had said, and so pretended it was
a Con-

a Contrivance to disparage his Evidence, and the People who reported it were set in the Pillory.

One *Tasborough* also, who belong'd to the Duke of *York*, was convicted of tampering with *Dugdale* to retract his Evidence, whereupon *Tasborough* was fin'd and pillor'd; and this was look'd on as a further Confirmation of the Plot. Upon the whole, our Author observes, that here was Matter enough to work upon the Fears and Apprehensions of the People; so no wonder Parliaments were hot, and Juries credulous. The visible Evidences that appeared, made all People conclude there had been great plotting, and the Bulk of what was sworn, was believ'd to be true, though dress'd up with incredible Circumstances. The Principles of the Jesuits also, concerning the deposing and murdering Kings, and the Duke's being so much theirs, and the King so little to be depended on, contributed much to the People's Belief of the Plot, and made little Heed to be given to their dying Speeches. Yet what Doctrines soever Men might by a Subtilty of Speculation be carried into, their asserting their Innocence at the Approach of Death, with the Seriousness that appear'd in their Deportment, induc'd many to believe them; and though some Divines went far in charging them with Equivocation and Hypocrisy in their last Moments, it was complain'd of by others as inhuman and indecent.

The five Jesuits were soon after brought to their Trials, namely, *Whitebread* their Provincial, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt*, *Gavan*, and *Turner*: *Oates* gave the same Evidence against them as he had done before; to oppose which, sixteen Persons came over from *St. Omer's*, who testified, that *Oates* was in the Jesuits College there, from *December 77*, until *June 78*, so that he could not possibly have been at those

those Consultations at *London* in *April* 78, as he had depos'd: And they remember'd this the more particularly, because he sat every Day at a Table by himself in the Refectory, and neither mix'd with the Scholars, nor was admitted to the Jesuits Table, nor was he absent above one or two Days, when he went into the Infirmary. They also depos'd, that several of those Persons whom he had sworn came over with him into *England* in *April*, were resident all that Summer in *Flanders*. To contradict this Evidence, *Oates* brought seven or eight Persons, who swore they saw him in *England* the beginning of *May*; and they took the more Notice of him, because he was not in a Clergyman's Habit as he us'd to be: And one of these Witnesses swore, that he din'd with *Oates*, and had much Discourse with him about his Travels. An old Dominican Fryar also depos'd, that he spoke frequently with him at that Time. And thus the Credit of the *St. Omer's* Scholars, our Author says, was quite blasted. It being said, there was no Reason to mistrust those who depos'd they saw *Oates*, because they had no Interest in the Matter: But the *St. Omer's* Scholars gave this Evidence to save some of their own Order. *Bedlow* also swore positively now against all the five, and not upon hearsay as before; and no Regard was had to the Oath he formerly made in *Ireland's* Trial. *Dugdale* also swore against some of them; but one part of his Evidence, our Author observes, was hardly credible; namely, (*viz.*) that a Letter was directed to himself, intended for Father *Evers*, by the common Post, and sign'd *Whitebread*, desiring him to find out proper Persons to kill the King, of whatever Quality they might be, which was not suitable to the Cunning of a Jesuit, when all People either made use of Cyphers, or of some disguis'd Cant. However, the *St. Omer's*

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Evidence seeming to be overthrown, the Jury soon brought in their Verdict against the Jesuits, and they were condemn'd: They did with the greatest Solemnity and deepest Imprecations at their Execution, deny the whole Evidence given against them; and declar'd, that they did not hold it lawful to assassinate Princes, or allow the Pope's Power of deposing them; and that they look'd upon all Equivocation to be odious and sinful; and a very zealous Protestant who often visited them in Prison, told our Author, that they behaved themselves with great Decency, and with all the Appearance of Innocence and Devotion. The Trial of Counsellor *Langhorn* came on next; he produc'd the St. *Omer's* Witnesses in his behalf, but their Testimony was not now regarded. He next shew'd the Contradictions in the Depositions *Oates* had made at the several Trials, but was told, printed Trials were no legal Proof, and that his contradicting his Narrative given in upon Oath, was not like his contradicting the Evidence he had given in a Court of Justice. *Langhorn* shew'd also, that it was six Weeks after the Discovery *Oates* first made before he nam'd him; whereas, if such Commissions had been lodg'd with him, as *Oates* had depos'd, he would certainly have been seiz'd with his Papers the first of any: However, he was convicted, and great Pains taken with him to make him discover all he knew, and his Execution delayed some Weeks in hopes to draw something from him. He said, he could discover the Estates and Stock the Jesuits had in *England*, but protested he could make no other Discovery, in which he persisted to his Death, and spent the Time in which he was respited from Execution, in writing some devout and well compos'd Meditations. He was, our Author says, both learned and honest in his Profession, and in all Respects a very extraordinary

ordinary Man, but out of Measure, bigoted to his Religion: He dy'd with great Constancy. And these Executions, with the Denials of all that suffered, made such Impressions on many, as no Books could carry off; though many were written to shew, that lying for a good End, was not only thought lawful by them, but had been often practis'd.

These Executions were generally imputed to Lord Shaftspury, our Author says, who drove them on in Hopes, that some of the Prisoners would have accus'd the Duke to save themselves; but the shedding so much Blood upon the Credit of such Witnesses, rais'd a general Prejudice against these Proceedings, and the whole Plot began to sink apace.

Sir George Wakeman being brought to his Trial, Oates depos'd, he saw him write a Prescription for *Asbby* the Jesuit, and that he saw a Letter written in the same Hand, wherein *Wakeman* directed *Asbby* to use the Milk Diet, and to be pump'd at the Bath, and express'd much Zeal in the Design of killing the King. Oates also repeated what he had depos'd concerning the Queen, to shew the Probability that *Wakeman* was engag'd in this Design, being her Majesty's Physician.

To this Evidence *Wakeman* objected, that Oates at first only accus'd him upon Hear-say, protesting solemnly he knew nothing against him: And this was fully prov'd; from whence he infer'd, that what Oates swore against him now must be all a Forgery. He also prov'd by his Servant, and an Apothecary at the Bath, that the Prescription for *Asbby* was not written by him, but dictated only; and that the Direction of the Milk Diet was a manifest Indication of an ill-contriv'd Forgery, for nothing was more inconsistent with the Bath Water than Milk.

Bedlow depos'd, that he saw *Wakeman* receive of *Harcourt* a Bill of two thousand Pounds, in part of a greater Sum; and that *Harcourt* told the Deponent, it was given for the intended Design of killing the King, whom they design'd to dispatch either by *Wakeman's* Means, or by the *Ruffians* sent to *Windsor*; and if all other Ways fail'd, they would take him off at *Newmarket*. In the beginning of his Evidence, *Bedlow* had only depos'd, that he heard *Harcourt* say this, but perceiving by the Questions that were ask'd him, that this would not affect *Wakeman*, he swore that *Wakeman* also said it in his hearing, to which *Wakeman* objected the Improbability of his trusting such Things with such a Person, and besides, that he was but one Witness if *Oates* were set aside.

Three other Benedictine Priests were tried at the same Time, against whom *Oates* depos'd, that they were in the Conspiracy to kill the King; and that one of them being their Superior, promis'd to advance six thousand Pounds towards it. *Bedlow* gave some circumstantial Evidence to corroborate this against two of them, but said nothing against the third. The Prisoners on the contrary prov'd, that another Person had been their Superior for several Years, and that *Oates* never came within their House till the Night after his Discovery, when he took *Pickering* out of his Bed, and when he saw them, he said, he had nothing to charge them with; and many other Things were urg'd against the Credit of the Witnesses. *Scroggs* sum'd up the Evidence very favourably, contrary to his usual Practice; whereupon the *Portuguese* Ambassador return'd him Thanks the next Day; for this, our Author says, was look'd upon to be the Queen's Trial, as well as *Wakeman's*.

REMARKS.

As our Author seems to be govern'd in the Judgment he has form'd of what was call'd the Popish Plot, by the several Trials of the Persons charged with it, I shall take a short View of these Trials in the Order they happen'd, and make some Remarks upon each, before I consider the Bishop's Observations on them.

But it may be necessary to premise, that this Plot made its Appearance in the World, a Year or two after that notable Incendiary the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was disgrac'd, who had left no Stone unturn'd to revenge himself of the Court, and work up the Nation to a Belief, that they were about to introduce Popery, in which he met with no inconsiderable Success; insomuch, that we find an Order of Council publish'd in the Year 1677, offering a Reward of fifty Pounds, to any one that should discover the Author, Printer, or Publisher, of a certain Libel, entitled, *An Account of the Growth of Popery*; and even the House of Commons were now under great Apprehensions of the Designs of the Papists, and every Whig almost provided himself with Arms for his Defence.

When the Nation was thus prepar'd to receive the Impression, *Oates* and *Tongue* came out with their Narratives of a horrid and bloody Plot, that was intended to murder his Majesty, and massacre all his Protestant Subjects. How inconsistent or improbable soever the Relation was in itself, the People run away with the Notion without examining, and concluded every Thing true that was reported. The slightest Presumptions pass'd for Evidence, and the Testimony of the most profligate perjur'd Villains was esteem'd equal, if not preferable, to the Depositions of the most unexceptionable Witnesses. Add to this also, the Malice and inde-

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fatigable Diligence of *Shaftsbury* and his Party, to lay hold of every Incident to advance their Republican Schemes. Some Accidents also happen'd at the same Time, which gave a plausible Colour to the Thing, and no wonder that the Fears of some, and the Prejudice of others, made them incapable for a while to exercise the Use of their Reason. All Circumstances considered, it is rather to be admir'd, that no more Mischief was done during this Frenzy of the Nation, than that there was so much.

When all Men were in that Consternation, and every one calling in his Money, that he might be in a Readiness to take such Measures as Prudence should suggest, upon the opening of this horrid Scene, a great Run was made upon *Staley* a Banker in *Covent-Garden*, who not being able to answer all Demands so suddenly as was expected, happen'd to let fall some passionate Expressions in an Eating-House in his Neighbourhood. *Carstairs*, a needy *Scotch* Officer, with one of his Soldiers, and another of his Countrymen, happen'd to be in a Room in the same House, and swore, that *Staley* said, (clapping his Hand on his Breast) *There is the Heart, and here is the Hand, that would kill the King*; and that these Words were spoken in *French* to *Fromante*, a *Frenchman*: *Staley* was brought to his Trial the 21st of *November*, 1678. The Prisoner said in his Defence, that he was indeed with *Fromante* at the Eating-House, as the Witnesses depos'd, and might use some passionate Expressions, as that he would kill himself, or the like, but never mention'd killing the King; nor could it be suppos'd he should speak those Words in a publick Room with the Doors open, and so loud, that the Company in the next Room might hear him, especially in a Street where most of the People were *French*: And he call'd a Witness, who depos'd, that he always spoke

spoke very loyally of his Prince, and detested the Principles of the Jesuits.

The Chief Justice in summing up the Evidence, enlarged much upon the horrible King-killing Principles of the Jesuits, and endeavour'd to shew, that the Words were *advisedly* spoken, and told the Jury, they would do well to begin with this Man, which perhaps might strike a Terror into the rest of the Conspirators; whereupon he was convicted and executed, but continued protesting his Innocence to the last Gasps.

It was observ'd, that here was no Pretence of the Prisoner's being in the Popish Plot, or any other Plot, or that he himself had any form'd Design of killing the King; and that it was very strange, the Chief Justice should give it in Charge to the Jury, that the Words were *advisedly* spoken, when the Witnesses expressly testified, they were spoken *in a Rage*. It seem'd a little hard upon the Prisoner too, that the Chief Justice should direct the Jury to make him the first Example, when there was nothing in the Indictment or the Evidence, that signified his being concerned in any Plot: But it appears, that not only the Judges and inferior Magistrates were thus carried away with the Torrent, but that the Ministry, and even the King himself durst not shew any Distrust of the Truth of the Plot, for fear of their being thought concern'd in it; so exceeding ridiculous were some, as to believe his Majesty was really in a Conspiracy against his own Life.

Mr. Coleman, Secretary to the Duchess of York, was next brought to his Trial, on the 27th of November, 1678. It was prov'd, that he held a Correspondence with *Le Chaise*, the French King's Confessor, and that he had in one Letter desir'd the Aid and Assistance of the French King, to bring about

a Change of Religion; and in another, had expressed great Hopes of subduing this pestilent Northern Heresy, as he stil'd the Protestant Religion.

Oates and *Bedlow* also depos'd, that *Coleman* was a principal Conspirator against the King's Life; and *Oates* swore particularly, that in *August* last he was privy to the sending eighty Pounds to the four Ruffians at *Windsor*, who were employ'd to kill the King, and that he gave the Messenger who carried them a Guinea to make haste, but would not fix upon any certain Day in *August* when they were sent. He and *Bedlow* also depos'd, that the Prisoner was privy to other Conspiracies to take off the King by Poison, &c.

Coleman in his Defence observ'd, that the Prejudices against every Man who was a *Roman* Catholick at that Time, were such, that if any one of that Profession, though never so innocent, should appear in a Court of Justice, it would be difficult for him to escape: That *Oates* did not so much as know him when he was before the Council, though now he pretended to have transacted Matters of that Consequence with him. And he observ'd, that *Oates* would not fix upon any certain Day when he sent to the Ruffians, so that it was impossible to make his Defence, and shew he was in another Place: That as to his Letters, he meant nothing else by the Aid he desir'd from *France*, but an Assistance of Money, and the Countenance of that Court to bring about a Toleration.

The Chief Justice in summing up the Evidence, did not much insist upon the Testimony *Oates* had given of *Coleman*'s Design to kill the King, but said, it was plain that *Coleman* intended to bring in Popery, and subvert the Protestant Religion, by requiring the Assistance of a foreign Power; and that he who subverted the Protestant Religion, by Consequence

sequence brought in a foreign Authority : That this was acting in Derogation of the Crown, and in Diminution of the King's Supremacy, and an Endeavour to bring the Nation under a foreign Dominion, namely, the Pope's; and though he might hope to bring in Popery, by procuring a Dissolution of the Parliament, and a Toleration, it was to be suppos'd, other Methods would have been taken, if these had fail'd, by his Confederates at least, if not by himself; and he who enters upon an unlawful Act, is guilty of all the Consequences that attend it, though he did not design them; whereupon *Coleman* was convicted. When the Chief Justice came to pronounce the Sentence, he bid Mr. *Coleman* not be deluded with the Hopes of a Reprieve, they might stop his Mouth till they had stopp'd his Breath: That the Nation was at that Time in such Disorders, and the People so alarm'd with secret Murders, or daily Outrages, that tho' the King who was merciful to a Fault, should be inclin'd that Way, he verily believ'd both Houses of Parliament would interpose between a Pardon and him: that there was nothing could save him, he must assuredly dye, and that suddenly.

The Chief Justice having pronounc'd the Sentence, *Coleman* declar'd his Innocency as to any Design against the King's Life; and said, he renounc'd all the Mercy that God could shew him, if he had not discovered all he knew to the House of Commons; or if he ever made, or received, or heard, of any Proposition towards invading the King's Life, his Crown, or Dignity; or to procure any Invasion, or Disturbance, in order to introduce any new Form of Government, or bring in Popery by Force; And in this he persisted till he dy'd.

On

On the 17th of December, 1678, *William Ireland*, *Thomas Pickering*, *John Grove*, *Thomas Whitebread*, and *John Fenwick*, were brought to their Trials. *Oates* depos'd, that in December, 1677, *Whitebread* was made Provincial of the Jesuits; and that he ordered *Conyers*, a Jesuit, to preach at *St. Omers*, on *St. Thomas a Becket's Day*, when the Preacher inveigh'd against the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy as antichristian and devilish; and that in January, *Whitebread* wrote Letters to *Father Asby*, acquainting him with the Design of killing the King: And that he summon'd the Jesuits to appear at a Consult to be held at *London* the 24th of April, upon which nine of them went over from *St. Omers*, among whom was *Sir Thomas Preston*, *Mr. Williams*, *Mr. March*, *Sir John Warner*, and the Deponent; and they accordingly met the 24th of April at the white Horse Tavern in the Strand, and subdivided themselves into several Companies; and *Mico*, Secretary to the Society, drew up this Resolve, viz. That *Pickering* and *Grove* should go on in their Attempt to kill the King: That *Grove* should have fifteen hundred Pounds, and *Pickering* thirty thousand Masses, as a Reward: That *Whitebread* signed this Resolve at his Chamber, and *Ireland* and *Fenwick* signed it at their respective Chambers; and the Deponent carried it from one Company to another, and saw them sign it, at least forty of them. Soon after the Deponent return'd to *St. Omers*, and *Whitebread* commanded him to *England* again to kill *Dr. Tongue*, who had translated the Jesuits Morals; that when he was in *London*, *Asby*, a Jesuit, came from *St. Omers*, and brought Instructions from *Whitebread*, to offer *Sir George Wake-man* ten thousand Pounds to poison the King, and that they should procure the Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Dr. Stillingfleet* to be murder'd; and that

Pickering

Pickering and *Grove* should still go on with their Design of killing the King: That Sir *George Wakem* refusing the ten thousand Pounds, *Whitebread* ordered them to offer him five thousand more, which he accepted; and five thousand Pounds of it was paid him by Mr. *Coleman*, or his Order: That in *August* following there was another Consult, at which Mr. *Ireland* and the rest were present, and four Russians were at that Time provided to kill the King, and fourscore Pounds sent after them to *Windsor* the next Day, and Mr. *Coleman* gave the Messenger a Guinea to use Expedition: That the same Month *Whitebread* sent other Instructions to foment a Rebellion in *Scotland*; and *Harcourt* sent down *Moor* and *Sanders* thither to preach in the Field-Conventicles, and shew them the Danger they were in from Episcopal Tyranny. He depos'd also, that he saw *Pickering* and *Grove* waiting in the Park several Times, in the Months of *May* and *June*, with their screw'd Pistols to kill the King, and that they had silver Bullets: That in *March* last *Pickering* followed the King, but durst not Fire, the Flint of his Pistol being loose, for which he underwent a Penance: That *Pickering* and *Grove* sign'd the Resolution to kill the King, and *Whitebread* gave them all the Oath of Secrecy.

He depos'd also, that *Whitebread* had sign'd several hundreds of military Commissions, and one particularly to Sir *John Gage* of *Sussex*, which the Deponent deliver'd himself.

It being demanded of *Oates*, if he could produce any two Witnesses that saw him at *London* in *April* when he said the Consult was held; he said, that he lay at *Grove's* House, but did not pretend to bring any one Witness to prove he was in *England*.

Bedlow depos'd, that he was five Years Lieutenant in *Flanders*, and was afterwards employed by the Jesuits and the *English* Monks at *Paris* to carry Letters to, and from *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*: That the latter end of August he was at *Har-court's Chamber*, with *Ireland*, *Pickering*, and *Grove*, with some others; and there it was resolved, that since the *Russians* had been disappointed at *Windfor*, *Pickering* and *Grove* should go on, and *Conyers* be joined with them, and they should murder the King at *Newmarket*; but as to *Whitebread* and *Fenwick*, he said, he could depose nothing of his own Knowledge. He depos'd also, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Ossory*, and the Duke of *Ormond*, were to be kill'd.

There appearing but one Witness against *Whitebread* and *Fenwick*, and the Law requiring two in Cases of Treason, the Chief Justice ordered the Jury to be discharged of them, till further Evidence should appear against them.

Ireland in his Defence prov'd, by several Witnesses, that he went into *Staffordshire* the third of August, where he remained till the beginning of September: He declared also, that he had Abundance of other Witnesses, but that he was not allowed Pen, Ink, or Paper, nor had any Means to bring them in, and those Witnesses that did appear, were checkt, and roughly us'd by the Court.

Grove and *Pickering* complained they had no Opportunity of sending for their Witnesses, but utterly denied every Thing that *Oates* had sworn against them.

The Chief Justice in summing up the Evidence, told the Jury, that though *Oates* and *Bedlow* might be mistaken in point of Time, and *Ireland* be out of Town in August, yet that did not entirely destroy their Testimony; the Substance of their Evidence

dence might be true, though they had sworn falsely in this Circumstance: That he thought it impossible for any Man to frame such a Story as the King's Witnesses had told, or for any one to disbelieve it when it was told. Nor was it, he said, at all difficult to believe, that the Priests who had debauched Men's Understandings, overturned all Morals, and destroyed all Divinity, were engaged in such a Design; whose Humility was such, that they trod upon the Necks of Emperors; their Charity such, as to kill Princes, and their Vow of Poverty such, as to covet Kingdoms: That they had render'd all Converse with them impracticable, for they knew no Sin but what might be indulged, no Offence too big for a Pardon, and the blackest often accounted meritorious: Adding, that if Sacraments could not bind them, what Obligations or Covenants between Man and Man could. After he had inveigh'd very severely against the Principles and Practices of the Papists, he concluded, that the Matter was as plain and notorious as could be: That there was an Intention of bringing in Popery, by a cruel and bloody Way.

On *Wednesday* the 6th of *February*, 1678, *Green, Berry, and Hill*, were brought to their Trials at the King's Bench Bar, for the Murder of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*.

Oates depos'd, that upon the 6th of *November* last he gave in several Depositions upon Oath, containing a Narrative of the Plot before *Godfrey*, and having taken two or three Copies, he went before *Godfrey* again on the 28th of *September*, and swore all the Copies he had made; and after this he went with his Narrative before the Council, and *Godfrey* told him, that some great Persons thought he (*Godfrey*) had been too zealous in this Business, and others, that he had been too remiss; and that he

was threaten'd on both Sides, and went in fear of his Life from the Popish Party, and observ'd, he had been dog'd for several Days, but he should not fear them if they came fairly. Prothonotary *Robinson* depos'd to the same Effect, adding, that *Godfrey* said, upon his Conscience he should be the first Martyr.

Prance depos'd, That two Priests engag'd him to be concern'd in the Murder of *Godfrey*, and told him it was no Sin, for he was a bully Man, and would do a great deal of Mischief; that they sent to *Godfrey's* House to know when he went out, and had dog'd him several times, and particularly on the *Saturday* Morning he was missing, they watch'd him into *St. Clements*, and about eight or nine a Clock in the Evening *Hill* gave them Notice to be ready, and *Godfrey* came by the Water-gate at *Somerset-house*; whereupon *Hill* went to him, and told him there were two Men quarrelling, and desir'd him to come down and part them; which, with much Persuasion he consented to do, and being come down as far as the bottom of the Rails, *Green* twisted his Handkerchief and put it about *Godfrey's* Neck, and threw him behind the Rails, and there choak'd him; About a quarter of an Hour after, *Prance* observ'd that he was not dead, and *Green* wrung his Neck quite round, and punch'd him with his Knee. *Prance* depos'd also, that he stood at the Water-gate when it was done, and *Berry* watch'd the Stairs; that the Deponent saw *Hill*, *Green*, *Gerald* and *Kelly*, about the Body when he came from the Gate, and a while after *Berry* came, and they all help'd to carry him into *Hill's* Room, in Dr. *Goodwyn's* House, where the Corpse lay till *Monday* Night, and then it was remov'd into *Somerset-house*, where *Hill* shew'd it the Deponent with a dark Lanthorn; but he could not describe the Room: On *Tuesday* it was carried to *Hill's* Chamber

Chamber again, but some body being there, they carried it to Sir John Arundel's Lodgings, over against it; where it lay till Wednesday Night, when they remov'd it to the Room where it first lay, and about twelve carried it away in a Sedan, thro' the great Gate of the upper Court; and when they came to *Soho*, *Hill* met them with a Horse, and set the Body upon it, and rid behind it; and the next Morning *Prance* met *Hill*, *Gerald* and *Kelly*, and they told him they had run him through with his own Sword, and thrown him into a Ditch, and laid his Gloves and other things upon the Bank.

The Prisoners objecting that *Prance* was perjurd, because he deny'd what he had sworn against them before the Council, the Keeper of *Newgate* was call'd; who depos'd that *Prance* did indeed confess, as well before the King in his Closet, as before the Council, that all he had sworn against the Prisoners was false, and that they were all innocent. And *Richardson* being ask'd if any Body had been tampering with him, he answer'd, No; but they were no sooner return'd to the Prison again, but *Prance* said all he had sworn was Truth; and it was only Fear of losing his Trade, and being murder'd by the Papists, which made him recant.

Bedlow depos'd that the Priests had solicited him to murder a Gentleman about the latter End of September; but did not tell him who it was, but directed him to insinuate himself into *Godfrey's* Acquaintance; which he did accordingly. They told him also, that there was a material Man to be put out of the Way that Night he was murder'd, who had all the Informations that *Oates* and *Tongue* had given in; that they had made several Attempts on him, which had fail'd, and if he should not be taken out of the Way, and the Papers taken from him, they must wait an Age before they could ef-

fect

fect their Design: That he promis'd to assist in it, but demanded where the four thousand Pounds were, which had been promised; and was told the Lord *Bellasis* was engag'd for it, and Mr. *Coleman* had Orders to pay it. *Bedlow* further depos'd, that he met the Priest who would have employ'd him to murder the Gentleman, on the *Monday* Night, after it was done, in *Somerset-house* Cloisters, who reprov'd him for not coming to assist them; but said if he would help carry him off, he should have half the Reward; and he was carried into a Room, where they shew'd him the Body by a small Light, and he knew it, and saw a Cravat about his Neck; and he advis'd them to tie Weights to his Head and Feet, and sink him in the River; but they told him they would put it upon himself. That they administered the Sacrament to the Deponent twice a Week afterwards, to conceal the Matter. The Deponent went down to *Bristol* afterwards, where he was so restless and disturb'd in his Mind, that he could not help making the Discovery.

The Surgeon who view'd *Godfrey's* Body after it was found, depos'd that he had one Wound in his Body which stopt at a Rib, and another that went thro' his Heart; but he did not think he was kill'd by it, because there was no Evacuation of Blood; and his Neck was so distorted, that they might have taken the Chin and set it upon either Shoulder. *Brown*, who found the Body, also depos'd, that there was no Blood in the Ditch, nor none followed the Sword when it was taken out; and that his Breast look'd black, and he suppos'd his Neck was broke, for it was so weak that his Head might be turn'd upon either Shoulder; that his Stick and Gloves lay by him on the Bank; and he had a great deal of Gold and Silver in his Pockets.

The Prisoners, in their Defence, prov'd that *Hill* us'd to come in at good Hours every Night, and particularly, he was at Home at eight a Clock that Night *Godfrey* was missing: Others swore that they were in *Hill's* Room, where the Body was said to be laid, every Day, and must have seen it, if it had been there.

The Corporal and Centinels at *Somerset-house* depos'd, that no Sedan went out that Night the Body was said to be carried away.

The Chief Justice, in summing up the Evidence, seem'd to slight the Proofs the Prisoners had brought, but gave the Evidence for the King, at least, its full Weight; and told the Jury that this Gentleman had been murder'd, either because he knew something the Priests would not have him tell, or they did it in Defiance of Justice, and in Terror to all those who dare execute it upon them.

Whitebread and *Femwick*, being brought to their Trials on the 13th of *June* 1679, objected, That on the 17th of *December* before, they were try'd for the same Fact; that the Jury was charg'd with them, and the Evidence given, and being found insufficient, the Jury was dismiss'd without giving a Verdict; and they desir'd Council might be assign'd them as to that Point, Whether they ought to plead a second time? for they were inform'd, no Man could be put in Jeopardy of his Life twice for the same Cause; but after the Jury is charg'd with the Prisoners, and the Evidence given, the Prisoners ought to be either convicted or acquitted.

The Court, notwithstanding, deny'd the Prisoners Council; and the Lord Chief Justice and all the Judges agreed, that it was in the Discretion of the Court to discharge the Jury without taking a Verdict. But this has been deny'd to be Law ever since.

With *Whitebread* and *Femwick*, were try'd three other Jesuits; namely, *William Harcourt*, *John Gavan*, and *Anthony Turner*. Sir *Creswell Levinz*, who opened the Evidence, began with a long Harangue, shewing how the Protestants were us'd in Popish Countries; being murder'd, he said, by Thousands, without Law or Justice; particularly, he remembred the Massacres at *Paris*, and in *Ireland*; which had no doubt its Weight with the Jury.

Oates depos'd, that there was a Consultation of the Jesuits held at the *White-Horse* Tavern in the *Strand*, the 24th of *April*, 1678, where the Prisoners, *Whitebread*, *Femwick*, *Harcourt* and *Turner*, were present, and came to a Resolution, that *Pickering* and *Grove* should proceed in their Attempt to dispatch the King. That on the 17th of *June*, 78, *Richard Ashby*, another Jesuit, came to *London*, with Instructions from the Prisoner, *Whitebread*, to offer Sir *George Wakeman* ten thousand Pounds to poison the King. That about the 21st of *August*, *Femwick* and *Harcourt*, and some other Fathers, met together at *Wildhouse*, and there lay before them four-score Pounds, most of it in Guineas, which was to be paid to the four *Irish* Ruffians who were to murder the King at *Windsor*; and *Coleman* came in, and gave the Messenger a Guinea to hasten his Journey. That on the 3d of *September*, *Whitebread* came to Town, and the next Morning *Oates* waited on him; and the Prisoner, *Whitebread*, revil'd him, and beat him, for having discover'd the Plot; but afterwards apprehending himself in a Mistake, he told *Oates* he would be Friends with him, if he could discover who it was had done it. And he depos'd further, that Sir *George Wakeman* not accepting the ten thousand Pounds which was offer'd for poisoning the King, *Whitebread* order'd five thousand Pounds more to be offer'd, which he accepted; and *Whitebread*,

in a Letter from *Flanders*, appear'd mightily rejoiced at it.

Whitebread objected to *Oates's* Evidence, that he was not a credible Witness, having taken contradictory Oaths; and that it was not probable he should trust a Man in a Conspiracy against the King's Life, whom, by his own Confession, he had never seen, and whom they had dismiss'd from *St. Omers*, for his irregular Life. The Prisoners produced fifteen young Gentlemen, Students at *St. Omers*, who depos'd that *Oates* was at *St. Omers*, at the Time he swore he was at the Consult in *London*. They depos'd also, that several of the Persons whom *Oates* swore came over with him, were in *Flanders* at that Time. Other Witnesses depos'd, that *Gavan* was in *Staffordshire*, at the Time *Oates* swore he was in *London*. And as to the Objection that was made by the Court, that the Witnesses could not be look'd on as good Witnesses, because they were *Roman* Catholicks; they said, at this Rate all Commerce must be broken off with the *Roman* Catholick Countries. They urg'd further, that the Witnesses who swore against them, were vicious profligate Persons, of desperate Fortunes, and who made a Livelihood of Swearing; and desir'd that the Court would permit them to shew what *Oates* had depos'd in *Ireland's* Trial, contrary to the Evidence he gave now; whereupon Sir *John Southcote*, and the Lady *Southcote*, and several other Persons, depos'd that *Ireland* was in *Staffordshire*, when *Oates* swore he was in Town, at that Trial.

Whitebread observ'd, that at his first Trial, when *Oates* was press'd to declare who had seen him in Town, he could not name one; but he said he had not seen much Company, and staid but six Days; and now he swore he came over the 17th of *April*; and his Witnesses depos'd they saw him here the

beginning of *May*; which must be a great deal more than six Days, and consequently his Oath, either in this or the former Trial, was false. They said it was probable also, that Mr. *Oates* was disgusted at his being turn'd out of the College at *St. Omers*, and this might be the Ground of his Malice against them. As to *Dugdale's* Testimony against them, they urg'd that he run away from the Lord *Aston*, having lost three hundred Pounds of his Lordship's Money. The Prisoners also desir'd that the Court would take notice of the Numbers of the Witnesses they brought to prove *Oates* at *St. Omers*, who eat and convers'd with him every Day; whereas the Witnesses on the other Side were not so numerous, and but one or two of them spoke to any particular Days. *Whitebread* particularly urg'd the Improbability of his sending a Letter by the common Post, to Mr. *Ewers*, to provide stout Men to kill the King; and that he should be so mad to beat a Man to whom he had committed such a Secret as *Oates* had depos'd: That it was strange there should be a Plot wherein so many Persons of Honour and Quality were said to be concern'd, and no Footsteps of it should appear, no Arms bought, no Men listed, or any Provision made to put it in Execution: Nor could it be suppos'd, they said, that so many young Gentlemen, virtuously educated, should come over from *St. Omers* to attest a Falshood: That the Witnesses against them were a poor beggarly People, who thought to advance their Fortunes by this pretended Discovery; and in short, that there was no manner of Reason to induce the Jury's Belief, but downright Swearing: And as to the Prisoners themselves, they appeal'd to the World for the Innocence and Unblameableness of their Lives hitherto; whereas it was evident how viciously and scandalously their Accusers had liv'd.

The Chief Justice, in his Direction to the Jury, told them that the Testimony of the St. Omers Witnesses was of much less Weight than the Evidence given for the King; not only because it was upon Oath, (tho' he doubted not but the St. Omers Lads would have sworn their Evidence if they might,) but because the Testimony of a Papist was not to be credited, with or without an Oath, since they were of a Religion that could dispense with Oaths, tho' false, for the sake of a good Cause; and told the Jury that they were not to govern their Judgments by a Mistake of seven or eight Days, for they themselves, he did not doubt, were often mistaken a Week or a Month in their ordinary Affairs: He laid great Stress also upon a Letter which *Dugdale* depos'd was sent by Mr. *Harcourt* to Mr. *Ewers*, of *Godfrey's* Murder, the very Day he was missing. This, he said, must turn every Protestant Heart against them. The Plot was in a great Measure prov'd by that Murder, he said, and this was but a Specimen of what they design'd to do: He did not doubt but they would kill the King, or any Body else that stood in the Way of their Religion: A Religion, which they would bring in by a Conversion of Blood, and by a baptismal Fire: That as to the Prisoners disproving *Oates's* being here, or Mr. *Ireland's* Absence in *August*, when *Oates* swore he was in *London*, that was not the Business of this Day, and if *Ireland's* Jury had not been satisfied he was in *London*, they would not have found him guilty.

The Jury having withdrawn a quarter of an Hour, they brought in the Prisoners guilty, and they were all condemned and executed, professing their Innocence to the last.

On the 14th of *June* 1679, *Richard Langhorn*, Esq; was brought to his Trial; and *Oates* depos'd,

that in *April*, or the beginning of *May*, 1678, the Deponent, and several other Jesuits came over from *St. Omers* to the Consult held in *London*: At which Consult the Deponent acquainted the Prisoner, that there was a Resolve sign'd, that *Pickering* and *Grove* should go on with their Attempt to kill the King, and Mr. *Langhorn* lifted up his Hands and Eyes, and prayed God it might have good Success. And he depos'd also, that he saw in Mr. *Langhorn's* Study in the *Temple*, a Commission for my Lord *Arundel* to be Lord Chancellor; another for my Lord *Powis* to be Lord Treasurer, one for my Lord *Stafford* to be Pay Master of the Army; another for the Prisoner to be Judge Advocate; another for the Lord *Bellasis* to be General; another for the Lord *Petre* to be Lieutenant General, and another Commission for *Coleman* to be Secretary of State; and these were all by an Authority derived from the Pope, and signed *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, with the Jesuits Mark, being a Cross through the Letters J. H. S. and the Deponent also saw about fifty other Commissions to inferior Officers, most of them in the Prisoner's Custody.

He depos'd also, that the Prisoner prevailed upon the Benedictine Monks, to advance six thousand Pounds towards carrying on the Cause; and the Prisoner was disgusted at Sir *George Wakeman*, for refusing ten thousand Pounds to poison the King, and said, he was a covetous, narrow soul'd Physician, and that it being a publick Concern, he might have done it for nothing.

Mr. *Langhorn* demanding of *Oates* when he arrived at *St. Omers*, the Lord Chief Justice observed, that all their Defence lay in Catches in a Point of Time, in which no Man could be positive.

Mr. *Langhorn* demanding when *Oates* came to *England*, he answered, the middle or latter end of *April*;

April; but the Prisoner demanding further, whether he came from *Dover* in the Coach or on Horseback, *Oates* answered, the Question was so sudden he could not be positive; whereupon Mr. *Langhorn* observed, that at a Trial at the King's-Bench he swore he came in the Coach in the Company of Mr. *Hilsley*. *Oates* being asked where he lodged when he was in Town, he said, at Mr. *Grove's*, but he could not say he lay there the first Night, and that he returned to St. *Omers* about a Week in *May*; whereupon it was observed, that he had sworn before, that he staid but six Days in *London*. The Prisoner demanding when he became a Papist, he answered, in *February* or *March*, 1676; but being asked if he became a Jesuit, the Chief Justice said, that was a Question he need not answer, because it would bring him into Danger.

Bedlow depos'd, that about three Years since, he was sent by Mr. *Coleman* and Mr. *Harcourt* with Letters to *Le Chaise*, for carrying on the Design, and that Mr. *Langhorn* registred these Letters at his Chambers in the *Temple*, and then Mr. *Coleman* sealed them up, and gave them to the Deponent to carry; and that the Prisoner registred all Letters relating to this Concern; and that about a Year and half since, Mr. *Harcourt* sent another Pacquet of Letters by the Deponent to Mr. *Langhorn*, which the Deponent brought from *Spain*, and were directed to the Lord *Bellasis*, the Purport whereof was, that the Lord *Bellasis* and the rest of the Party should be in a Readiness, for they had provided some *Irish* Troops in *Spain*, who should be landed at *Milford Haven*, and join the Lord *Powis*, and only waited to know in what Readiness the Party was.

Mr. *Langhorn* demanding whether the Prisoners had their Pardon, for that they confess'd themselves Parties to the suppos'd Crime; *Bedlow* an-

swered he had three, and *Oates* said, he had two under the Broad Seal.

Mr. *Langhorn* observed, that they came under the same Reason of Law with an Approver, and if an Approver be pardon'd, the Appellee ought to be discharged. Then he demanded if the Witnesses had not received a Reward; to which the Lord Chief Justice *North* answered, that the receiving a Maintenance from the King, was no Objection to their Evidence, any more than *Bedlow's* receiving five hundred Pounds for discovering the Murderer of *Godfrey*.

Mr. *Langhorn* objected, that though it might be reasonable to offer a Reward for the Discovery of a Person charg'd with a Crime when he absconds, yet it was hard, when a Prisoner was in Custody, a great Reward should be offer'd to Witnesses to come in against him.

The Lord Chief Justice demanding if the Prisoner's whole Defence lay in Objections to the Incompetency of the Witnesses, he answered, it must lie in disabling of the Witnesses, for he had been kept close Prisoner ever since the 17th of *October*, and was not permitted to converse with any Friend, and never heard what he was charged with; whereupon the Chief Justice bid him not spend their Time to no Purpose, but produce his Proof.

Then the Students from *St. Omers* appeared, and depos'd, as they had in the *Jesuits Trial*, that *Oates* was at *St. Omers* from *December 77*, till *June 78*; but the Chief Justice said, he supposed the Witnesses came prepared, and intimated, that no Credit ought to be given to their Evidence. The *St. Omers* Witnesses depos'd further, that *Sir Robert Brett*, *Sir Thomas Preston*, and *Sir John Warner*, whom *Oates* had sworn came over with him, were on the other side of the Water all *April* and *May*. Mrs.

Mrs. *Grove* and her Maid also appeared, and depos'd, that *Oates* never lay at their House in *April* 78, as he had sworn, for that their House was full of Lodgers, and nam'd the Persons that lay in the several Rooms, and the Chief Justice said, there was no great Matter in that Evidence.

Mr. *Langhorn* offered to prove an Extract out of the Journal of the House of Lords, of what *Oates* had sworn there, contrary to what he depos'd at this Trial, but the Court would not permit it; nor would they permit him to prove by Witnesses, what *Oates* had sworn at another Trial.

The Earl of *Castlemain* came into Court, and acquainted the Judges, that some of the Witnesses who were summon'd for the Prisoner, were so beaten and abused without, that they dar'd not come to give their Evidence, for fear of being killed, and that one of them was already so maim'd, that he thought it would cost him his Life; to which the Court only said, they would punish any one that was guilty of it, but took no Care to prevent the Witnesses being insulted and abused.

The Prisoner demanded how many met at the White-Horse Tavern the 24th of *April*, to which *Oates* answer'd, there were eighteen or twenty there at a Time, in several Rooms; whereupon Mr. *Langhorn* observed, that he had sworn in *Coleman's* Trial, there were forty or fifty.

Oates having affirm'd, that he was six or seven hundred Pounds out of Pocket by this Matter, the Prisoner desired to examine Witnesses as to the Probability of this; and observ'd, that he was so very poor and indigent before this Matter happened, that no Body would trust him with such Sums, unless it were to make an Evidence of him; but the Prisoner was not allowed to call Witnesses to this. He then desired to shew, that *Bedlow* had sworn,

sworn before the Lords, that he had no other Person to accuse than what he then charged, and that the Prisoner was not one of the Persons mentioned; but the Court told him, that was spending their Time to no Purpose.

Then the Prisoner called one Mrs. *Silliard* to prove, that *Bedlow* confess'd he concealed part of his Evidence at another Trial, from whence he inferr'd, he was perjur'd, being sworn to speak the whole Truth; but the Court said it was not material, and the Witness being insulted, and in Danger of her Life from the Rabble, the Prisoner wav'd this Evidence.

Oates produc'd six or seven Witnesses, to prove he was in Town in *April* and *May* 78, and one of them in particular said, he din'd with him at Mr. *Howard's*, but Mr. *Howard* depos'd he had not seen *Oates* since the 5th of *May* 77.

Mr. *Langhorn* in his Observations upon the Evidence, insisted, that having proved *Oates* had sworn falsely in part of his Testimony, he ought not to be believed in the rest; that he had shewn, that the Persons whom *Oates* pretended came over with him were then on the other side of the Water, and that *Oates* himself was at *St. Omers* when he had sworn himself at the Consult at *London*; to which the Lord Chief Justice *North* answered, they were all Papists, and spoke in their common Cause. Mr. *Langhorn* reply'd, if they were not to be believed because they were Papists and Friends, neither were the other Witnesses to be believed because they were Enemies; that it was highly improbable a Man of his Practice should become a Clerk to register Letters, and keep the Accompts of a religious Order; and still more improbable, that he should admit *Bedlow* to be privy to those Accompts, being one he could not tell he had ever seen before; and if he could

could have guess'd what he should have been charged with, he might have been better prepared for his Defence. He made use of such Witnesses as his Friends had got together, and had never seen them before, and hoped he should not be condemn'd merely for his Religion: He disclaim'd all Principles of Disloyalty, and believ'd it a damnable Sin to kill the King, or deprive him of his Government.

The Chief Justice in his Directions to the Jury, told them, that the *St. Omers* Witnesses came over to defend the Catholick Cause: That the Lawfulness of killing and deposing Kings was their avowed Doctrine: That they also taught and practis'd all Lying and Equivocation, and might have Dispensations and Pardons for Breach of Oaths, Vows, and Sacraments, which render'd them unfit for humane Society, or to have any Faith or Credit given to their Testimony: That as on the one Hand there stood a Gentleman at the Bar for his Life, so on the other, if Mr. *Oates* swore true, all their Lives, Liberties, King, and Religion were at Stake: that they knew the cruel Principles of the Papists, and the Plot was prov'd as clear as the Day, particularly by a Letter found among Mr. *Harcourt's* Papers, which gave an Account, that the Consult was to be on the 24th of *April*, as Mr. *Oates* had before depos'd.

To which Mr. *Langhorn* answered, that Mr. *Oates* might easily know of this Congregation being at *St. Omers*, from whence the Letters of Summons came; and that the Design of holding this Congregation, was like the meeting of a Dean and Chapter in a College. As to the Caution given them not to appear too openly for fear of discovering the Design, a Congregation of Jesuits were always in Danger of the Laws, and the holding such an Assembly,

sembly, in the Nature of it, requir'd Secrecy, as the Letter intimated, although there had been no Colour of a Plot: However, the Prisoner was convicted and condemn'd, with the five Jesuits who were tried the Day before.

On the 18th of *July*, 1679, *Sir George Wakeman*, Baronet, *William Marshall*, *William Rumley*, and *James Corker*, Benedictine Monks, were brought to their Trials.

Dugdale was first call'd to prove the Plot in general, which, he said, he had heard something of these seven Years; that about two Years, the Design of killing the King, and the Duke of *Monmouth*, and introducing their Religion, was more particularly communicated to him; and that Letters from the Jesuits at *London* were directed to him in *Staffordshire*; that they usually wrote three Times a Week about the Plot, and particularly, *Mr. Whitebread* wrote a Letter to *Mr. Ewers* by the common Post, that he should chuse none but stout and hardy Men to kill the King; and that he saw a Letter dated the *Saturday Godfrey* was missing, directed to *Mr. Ewers*, which said, this very Night *Godfrey* is dispatch'd; and *Ewers* told him, that the Papists had intrusted *Godfrey* with their Concerns, but he seem'd to search too strictly into *Oates's* Matter, and so they thought good to take him off. He depos'd further, that all Protestants were intended to be massacred: That the Murder of the King was to be thrown upon the Presbyterians, and then the Church of *England* would join with the Papists to cut them off, which was thought good Advice, and several Lords set their Hands to it, particularly the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Bellasis*, and the Lord *Arundel*, and an Army was to be rais'd, to be ready to destroy those who should escape having their Throats cut, The Prisoners observ'd, that what render'd this

Testimony

Testimony suspected, was, that there should be no more Caution us'd; People in such Cases made Choice of as few Instruments as possible; but here was one Person after another employ'd, Letter after Letter sent, an hundred Men and more acquainted with it, where a few might have serv'd turn, and no less than four or five several Ways agreed on to bring about the Murder of the King. They observ'd also, that *Dugdale* pretended he had given four hundred Pounds to bring about this Matter, and yet he was to receive five hundred Pounds of the Lord *Stafford* for committing of it.

Prance depos'd, that he heard Mr. *Ireland* discourse of the raising fifty thousand Men, for the settling the Popish Religion; and that the Lords *Bellasis*, *Powis* and *Petre* were to command the Army; and that my Lord *Arundel's* Butler told him, one *Messenger* was to kill the King.

Jennison also depos'd, that he heard *Ireland* talk of poisoning the King, before his Sister. He also depos'd that he saw Mr. *Ireland* in *London* the 19th of *August*, and he talk'd with him again of taking off the King, as he was pulling off his Boots.

Oates depos'd, that in *July* 78, he saw Sir *George Wakeman* write a Prescription for *Ashby* the Jesuit; and that Sir *George* wrote *Ashby* word, that the Queen would assist him in poisoning the King: That some Days after, *Oates* attended the Fathers of *Wild-house* to *Somerset-house*, and waited in an Anti-Chamber, while the Fathers went to the Queen; and he heard a Woman's Voice, saying, that she would assist them in propagating the Catholick Religion; that she would not endure these Violations of her Bed any longer, but would assist Sir *George Wakeman* in poisoning the King: That *Oates* was admitted afterwards to see the Queen, and she ask'd Father *Harcourt*, when he was there, if he had receiv'd the last thousand

land Pounds? This was the same Voice he had heard without, he swore, and there was no other Woman with the Queen; and in the same Month of *July*, ten thousand Pounds were offer'd Sir *George Wakeman* to poison the King, at a Meeting of the Fathers; and that he refusing ten thousand Pounds, *Whitebread* order'd them to offer him five thousand more, which he accepted, and receiv'd five thousand Pounds in Part of it; which he saw enter'd in the Fathers Books at *Wild-house*: And Sir *George Wakeman* had a Commission to be Physician General to the Army.

Sir *George* demanded, if *Oates* had not said before the Council, he never saw him? To which *Oates* reply'd, he had been up two Nights, and was indispos'd, but now he had a proper Light, he could testify that this was the Man. Sir *George* observ'd, that this was just *Coleman's* Case, the Light was in his Eyes. Sir *George* observ'd further, that *Oates* said before the Council, that he knew nothing against him, but a Letter writ from Mr. *Ashby* to Mr. *Fenwick*.

Oates depos'd, as to *Corker*, that he consented to the Proposal made by the *Benedictine* Monks, to contribute six thousand Pounds towards the carrying on the Design; and that *Corker* also dispos'd of the Money the Queen gave in Charity, to the same Purpose; and that he was at the Consult the 24th of *April*.

Against *Marshal*, he depos'd, that he was present when the six thousand Pounds was agreed to be contributed; and was privy to *Pickering's* undertaking to kill the King: That *Rumley* also was privy to the Contribution of the six thousand Pounds, and pray'd for the Success of it. He depos'd also, that *Marshal* was present, when some of the Fathers laid Wagers, that the King would eat no more *Christmas*

mas Pies, and went halves with one who laid he would not.

Marshal demanding what Day in *August* the last Consult was? *Oates* said it was between the beginning and the middle of *August*, and he must take it as a Favour that he would tell him the Month. *Marshal* reply'd, it was impossible to make a Defence, if Circumstances of Time and Place were not mentioned. Whereupon *Oates* said it was at the *Benedictine* Convent, either the Day before, or the Day after the Assumption, which was the 15th of *August*; but still he would not be positive. The Chief Justice said, People must not be catch'd in their Evidence. To which *Marshal* reply'd, Would that be Evidence against a Murderer or a Highwayman, unless the Day was fixt exactly?

Bedlow depos'd, that he was in Mr. *Harcourt's* Chamber, when *Harcourt* gave Sir *George Wakeman* a Bill of two thousand Pounds, in Part of his Reward for poisoning the King: He depos'd also, that he heard Mr. *Corker* talking of the raising an Army, and that Mr. *Marshal* had distributed Letters concerning the Subversion of the Government, and the introducing of Popery.

Sir *George Wakeman* observ'd, that it was very strange he should discover before *Bedlow*, whom he had never seen before, what would endanger his Life.

Oates depos'd, that Sir *George Wakeman* prescrib'd the Milk Diet to *Ashby*, and in the same Letter wrote concerning the Design of killing the King. Whereupon Sir *George Wakeman* produc'd the Mayor of *Bath*, the Apothecary to whom the Prescription was sent; who depos'd, that there was nothing mentioned in it concerning killing the King; and that there was nothing of Milk mentioned in the Letter, for no Body ever drank Milk with *Bath* Water.

Water. Sir George's Man also appear'd, and depos'd, that his Master did not write that Prescription, but himself, as it was dictated by his Master; and it did contain nothing else but Directions what Mr. *Asbby* was to do at the Bath. *Henningham*, another Witness, also depos'd, that he was by when Sir George dictated that Prescription, and there was nothing that *Oates* had mentioned in it.

Sir *Philip Lloyd* depos'd, that *Oates* said before the Council, he had seen a Letter from Mr. *White* to Mr. *Fenwick*, that Sir *George Wakeman* was to have fifteen thousand Pounds for poisoning the King; and it being demanded if he knew any thing personally against Sir *George*, he lift up his Hands, and said, No, God forbid he should say any thing against Sir *George Wakeman*, for he knew nothing more against him. Sir *George* observ'd further, that if he had sworn any thing positively, the Council would certainly have committed him; but he was left at Liberty, and had Time to make his Escape, if he had known himself guilty. To which *Oates* answer'd, they were such a Council as would commit no Body. Then Sir *George* desir'd a Copy of *Oates's* Examination before the Lords might be read, being attested to be a true Copy, but it was not permitted; but he was told, it must be prov'd by some Body who could attest the Examination was sworn and subscribed to, or he might examine Witnesses of what *Oates* had said there.

Corker objected, that there ought to be some Probability in the Evidence, as well as downright Swearing; otherwise *Oates* and his Companions might hang up as many innocent Men as they please. That there ought also to have been credible Witnesses produc'd against them, but these were Men of the most scandalous Lives. *Corker* urg'd further, that *Oates* had involv'd the Nobility, Gentry, and whole Body

whole Body of the Catholicks in this Treason; and it could never be suppos'd, that so many Persons of Honour and Estates, and unblemished Characters, should hazard every thing in so wicked a Design, wherein almost the whole Nation was to be destroyed, if this Evidence was true. It was also incredible, that such vast Armies could be rais'd, and foreign Nations engaged in the Plot, which was so near being put in execution, and no other Evidence appear of it than the positive Oaths of *Oates*, *Bedlow*, and *Prance*, Men of the vilest Characters, and who considering the Encouragements they met with, and the Endearments and Caresses they had found, their Testimony could not be much regarded. *Corker* added, that it was strange, when *Oates* and the Officers came to search his Chamber for *Pickering*, whose Superior he was said to be, and acquainted with the whole Design, that he should not be apprehended till a Month afterwards; and both *Corker* and *Marshall* prov'd that they were in the House when *Oates* search'd for *Pickering*, and that he saw them, and declar'd that he had nothing to say to them; which was strange, if he knew them then to be Traitors. They prov'd also that *Corker* was not Superior of the *Benedictines*, as *Oates* had sworn.

The Chief Justice having summ'd up the Evidence, seem'd to give little Credit to the Evidence that *Oates* and *Bedlow* had given, and the Prisoners were all acquitted.

A B R I D G M E N T.

I shall not make any Reflections on these Trials, till I come to the Lord *Stafford's*, but take notice of such Transactions as happen'd in the mean time.

While the Nation was in this Confusion, on account of the Plot, the Earl of *Danby*, apprehending

An EXAMINATION of

that *Montague*, who had been Ambassador in *France*, might discover some Secrets he had entrusted him with, resolv'd, our Author says, to be before-hand with him, and charg'd him with entertaining a Correspondence with *Con*, the Pope's Nuncio at *Paris*; and procur'd *Jenkins*, one of the Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, to write a Letter to *England*, giving an Account of his Negotiations with *Con*: Upon Receipt of this Letter, the King sent a Message to the Commons, to let them know he would prosecute *Montague*, for being concern'd in the Popish Plot, and at the same time order'd his Papers to be seiz'd; whereby the Lord *Danby* hop'd to have found his own Letters, and secur'd them, and then design'd to have let the Prosecution fall; for they had nothing against *Montague*, who had only made Use of *Con* to discover what was transacting at *Rome*, and other Courts: But *Montague* had been so cautious, that he had lodg'd the Box in which the Lord *Danby*'s Letters were, in a Friend's Hands, and the Commons resenting it as a high Breach of Privilege, to seize the Papers of one of their Members, before any Treason was sworn against him, while they were engag'd in a warm Debate upon this Subject, our Author says, *Montague* produc'd two Letters of the Lord *Danby*'s, one of which contain'd Instructions to treat with the *French* King for three hundred thousand Pounds a Year, for three Years, if the Peace succeeded. The Commons were so inflam'd upon this Discovery, that upon the Motion of *Winnington* the Solicitor General, they resolv'd to impeach the Lord *Danby* of High Treason; for they look'd upon this Negotiation, they said, as a Design to sell the Nation, and to subvert the Government. The Lord *Danby*'s Friends alledg'd, that this could not be High Treason, it not being comprehended in any of the Statutes of Treason. But

Sergeant

Sergeant *Maynard* answer'd, that by the 25 *Ed. 3.* the Parliament had a Power to declare other Facts Treason than were there enumerated, and had accordingly declar'd Poisoning to be High Treason, in the Reign of *Hen. 8.* and he thought they would not scruple the declaring a Conspiracy against the whole Royal Family to be High Treason, where there was no Prince of *Wales*, tho' that Offence was not comprehended in the 25 *Ed. 3.*

It was carried at length, by a Majority of seventy, to impeach the Earl of *Danby*; and the Impeachment was the next Day carry'd up to the Lords, where the Earl of *Danby* insisted that he had always serv'd the King faithfully according to his own Orders; and produc'd Letters from *Montague*, which shew'd that the Court of *France* look'd upon him as their Enemy.

The Lords observing nothing in the Charge which amounted to High Treason, refus'd to commit the Earl of *Danby*, which being like to create a Difference between the two Houses, the Parliament was prorogued. The Letters which were produced by *Montague*, our Author thinks, were a great Reflection upon the King, as well as upon the Earl of *Danby*; for they shew'd that his Majesty had treated with *France* for a Sum of Money, when he had enter'd into an Alliance with the *Dutch*, and receiv'd Supplies from his People to carry on the War; this must be in order to force his Confederates to accept of lower Terms than they would otherwise have done, he thinks; which was selling their Allies, and the publick Faith. The Court answer'd indeed, he says, that since the King saw a Peace was resolv'd on, and he had been at such great Charges in his Warlike Preparations, he might reasonably insist on being re-imburs'd by *France*; and that nothing was more common, where a Prince

desir'd a Peace, than to make him buy it: And this our Author admits, would have justify'd the King, if it had been transacted above-board; but this dealing under-hand, he thinks, was mean and dishonourable.

The Lord *Danby* observing that the King's Affairs requir'd another Session of Parliament, our Author says, and seeing little Hopes that the present Parliament would be favourable to him, enter'd into a Treaty with some of the Country Party, for a new Parliament; undertaking that the Duke should be sent out of the Way before it met. Whereupon *Hollis*, *Littleton*, *Boscawen* and *Hampden*, promis'd that upon quitting his Post of Treasurer, and withdrawing from Affairs, they would give their Assistance to carry off his Impeachment with a mild Censure. The Duke of *York* also advis'd a Dissolution of this Parliament, observing with what Heat they carry'd on the Matter of the Plot, and prosecuted Popery.

A new Parliament being summon'd in *January*, 1678-9, the Elections were carry'd with great Heat almost every where, against the Court; and the Lord *Danby* resolving to quit the Treasury, got the King's Order for making several Payments; of which, our Author says, it was believ'd he had a large Share himself, so that he left the Treasury empty. He procur'd the Duke also to be sent beyond Sea, that there might be no Colour to say the Counsels were influenced by him: But before his Royal Highness went over, the King, for his Satisfaction, made a Declaration in Council, and took his Oath that he was never married or contracted to the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother, or to any other Woman, except the present Queen: For it was given out about this time, that *Monmouth* was the King's lawful Son, and he was become exceeding popular.

The

The Duke of *York*, our Author observes, took his Leave of the King with many Tears; but his Majesty shed none at parting: And his Royal Highness met with but a cold Reception, our Author tells us, at *Brussels*.

At the Meeting of the Parliament, in the beginning of *March*, *Seymour* procur'd himself to be chosen Speaker of the Commons, we are told; but there having happened a Quarrel between him and the Earl of *Danby*, the King refus'd to confirm the Choice; which occasion'd warm Debates, the Commons insisting that they had a Right to chuse their Speaker, and that the presenting him to the King to be confirm'd was but Matter of Form: But the King refusing to confirm *Seymour*, another Speaker was chosen. The Heat this Dispute had rais'd, our Author says, put it out of the Power of the Whig Gentlemen the Lord *Danby* had treated with, to serve him; and his taking out the King's Pardon, he says, was another Error, and much to his Disadvantage: However, the King told the Parliament that the Lord *Danby* had done nothing but by his Order, and therefore he had pardon'd him; and if any thing was defective in the Pardon, he would pass it again and again, till it could not be objected to.

The Commons hereupon questioned the King's Power of pardoning a Person impeach'd; he might pardon Offences against himself, they said, but not Injuries done to his People; as in the Case of an Appeal of Murder, or Debt due to a Subject; which he could not forgive: On the other hand, it was said, that the Power of pardoning was a Trust repos'd in the Crown, and had never yet been disputed: and whereas it had been objected, that at this rate ill Ministers might escape with Impunity, this might be a good Reason for restraining the

Prerogative for the future; yet what was already past was good in Law, and could not be broke through. It was propos'd at length that the Lord *Danby* should withdraw, and an Act of Banishment pass against him, as had done against the Earl of *Clarendon*; and a Bill of Banishment accordingly pass the Lords; but when it came to the Commons, *Winnington* said this was to let all Ministers see that having been guilty of never such black Crimes, all they could suffer was to be oblig'd to live beyond Sea; which inflam'd the House to that Degree that it was not to be moderated; and *Littleton*, our Author says, sent for him, to try if they could not mollify *Winnington*; but he was so entirely in *Montague's* Management, and blown up with Popularity, and so provok'd with being turn'd out of his Place of Solicitor General, that there was no moving of him. And thus, our Author says, an Opportunity of settling the Nation was lost; for the Court would have agreed to pass an Act, that for the future no Pardon should be pleaded to an Impeachment: The Bill of Banishment was thrown out, and instead of it a Bill of Attainder brought in against *Danby*.

The King, in hopes to abate the Fury of the Whigs, made an entire Change of his Ministry; the Treasury was put in Commission, and the Earl of *Essex* made first Commissioner; the Lord *Sunderland* was made Secretary of State: The whole Council, compos'd of the Lord *Danby's* Creatures, were dismiss'd, the chief Men of both Houses were brought into the Council, of which the Lord *Shaftsbury* was made President; and the King would have done any thing, our Author says, to have seen an End of the Plot, and that Fermentation the Nation was in: So that if the Commons would have let the Lord *Danby's* Business fall, and accepted Limitations

tations on his Brother, instead of excluding him, his Majesty would have yielded to any thing they could desire; but *Montague's* Hatred to the Lord *Danby*, and *Shaftsbury's* Hatred to the Duke of *York*, prevented all this; and many of the House of Commons thinking themselves neglected, join'd with them, and work'd up the House to such a Pitch, that they resolv'd to give the King no Money till other Things were first settled: No Part of the Changes at Court, our Author observes, were more acceptable than those among the Judges, for *Danby* had preferr'd some sad Creatures; but *Jones*, who had the new-modelling of the Bench, put very worthy Persons in the Room of those ignorant Judges.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his Party continued zealous for excluding the Duke of *York*; this, they said, was only disinheriting the next Heir; which a King and Parliament might do as well as a private Man might disinherit his eldest Son; for those who had the whole Right to any thing, had a Power of transferring it to whom they pleas'd: The Legislature being in the King and Parliament, they might limit the Succession, and every thing else relating to the Nation; and if the next Heir could not be disinherited, the Life of the reigning King must be very insecure. They added, that Government was appointed for the sake of the Governed, and not of the Governors, and therefore all things relating to it ought to be measured by the publick Good, and Safety of the People: That among the Governors God had appointed the Jews, no Regard was had to the eldest Son; *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and particularly *Solomon*, were preferr'd to those who were next in Succession. In several Kingdoms of *Europe*, the Heir General succeeded; but in *France* and *Germany* only the Male Heir; and tho' by the Oath of Allegiance the Subject was sworn to the

King and his Heirs, the Word *Heir* imported no more than the Person who ought to succeed by Law; and he might be any Person who should be declared next in Succession: That the Heir in *England* had been sometimes set aside, and the Right of Succession transferr'd to another; *Henry VII.* set up the Title of Possession; *Henry VIII.* was impower'd to limit the Succession at his Pleasure: And it was declar'd Treason in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, to deny that the Parliament could limit the Succession; that the Popish Religion was so contrary to our Constitution, that a Papist seem'd to be under a Disability of holding the Crown; that the Property of the Abbey-Lands would be shaken by the Prospect of a Popish Succession; and the Perfidy and Cruelty of that Religion made it still the more dreaded: The Duke's Temper was also much insisted on; and it was said he would probably break thro' any Limitations, and call in a foreign Power, rather than submit to them; and his Revenge for past Injuries, together with the Bigotry of his Religion, would probably render his Administration very grievous: That such Limitations as were propos'd would be more prejudicial to the Crown than the Exclusion of one Heir; for those would change the whole Frame of the Government, and set up a Democracy, instead of a Monarchy.

The Arguments against the Exclusion were, that it was unlawful in itself; Monarchy was of divine Right, and the Succession could not be alter'd: That whoever was sworn to the King and his Heirs, was sworn to the Person who was Heir at the Time of his taking that Oath: That nothing could be inferr'd from the Changes in the Course of Succession, which had been the Effects of prosperous Rebellions, nor of *Henry VIIth's* reigning in his Wife's Right, and not acknowledging it: That in
such

such a violent Reign as that of *Henry VIII.* no Wonder Acts were made in Prejudice of the right Heir; and it was observable, that tho' the King, in Pursuance of an Act of Parliament, had excluded the *Scotish* Line, yet the Nation had such a Regard to the next in Succession, that without examining the Will the *Scotish* Line was receiv'd: And though Queen *Elizabeth*, out of her Hatred to the Queen of *Scots*, procur'd an Act which declar'd the Parliament had a Power of limiting the Succession, that Matter ended so fatally, and was such a Blemish to her Reign, that much ought not to be built upon it.

Others said, that tho' a Father had indeed a Power of disinheriting his eldest Son, yet he ought never to exert it but upon a very just Occasion; that it was very hard to disinherit a Prince upon a Point of Conscience, and that before he had declar'd his Religion; it might be reasonable, possibly, to secure us from the ill Effects his Opinion might have upon the Nation, and this was fully done by the Limitations, and it would be unjust to carry it further: That the Protestants had exclaim'd against the Church of *Rome*, for encouraging the League in *France* to exclude the House of *Bourbon*, upon account of Heresy, and now the Charge might be retorted upon us, to our Shame; that in the Cases of Infancy or Lunacy the Law would appoint a Guardian, but the Right still remain'd in the right Heir; a Popish Prince was to be considered in that State, and these Limitations were no more than the assigning him Guardians; that there was no Danger of his breaking thro' them, considering the Zeal and Numbers of the People concern'd to support them: That if he was wholly excluded, foreign Princes might think themselves oblig'd in Honour to assist him, and it might occasion a new Popish League; whereas if the Limitations propos'd were agreed to,

no

no other Prince, probably, would trouble himself with our Laws and Establishment: That tho' many thought the Exclusion unlawful, all would concur in the Limitations; and therefore they were safest: *Scotland*, possibly, might be against the Exclusion also, and so it might lay a Foundation of War abroad, as well as Distractions among our selves; and some Regard also ought to be had to the King's Honour, who had so often assur'd them he would never consent to an Exclusion. However, the Bill of Exclusion was read twice in the House of Commons, and the Parliament was dissolv'd before it came to a third reading.

A Bill of Attainder having pass'd the Commons, upon the Earl of *Danby*'s absenting himself, and having been read twice in the House of Lords, he thought fit to surrender himself, and pleaded his Pardon: To which the Commons reply'd, denying the Validity of his Pardon; Upon which a Debate arose, as to the Right of the Bishops to vote, in Cases of Treason; and it was carried, that the Bishops had a Right to vote in all Matters previous to the Trial: Upon which the Commons refus'd to proceed; and such Differences hapned between the two Houses upon this Subject, that the Parliament was prorogu'd, and soon after dissolv'd: The Bishops were thereupon censur'd, our Author says, as a Set of Men who would expose the Nation and the Protestant Religion to any Hazard, rather than part with the least Punctilio. Tho' the Truth was, they would have withdrawn, but the King would not permit them, being resolv'd to maintain the Pardon, which he did not know but the temporal Lords would have given up.

The Nonconformists grew very insolent at this time, and publish'd Libels against the Court and Clergy, insomuch that a Rebellion was apprehended, and

and several Pieces were written to shew the Resemblance between these Times and those of Forty One: The principal of these Writers was Sir *Roger L'Esrange*, who had liv'd in the late Times, and was acquainted with the Passages; and for four Years he publish'd his *Observators*, in three or four Sheets, every Week, laying open the Principles of the Whigs, and shewing the Clergy that their Ruin was design'd. The Clergy being already sufficiently prejudic'd against that Party, and furnish'd with Matter from these Papers, were guilty of much Heat and Indiscretion, our Author says, both in their Pulpits and common Conversation, which render'd them very odious to the People; though there were some great Men among the Clergy, such as *Tennison, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, &c.* who by their Lives and Labours did, in a great measure, rescue the Church from those Reproaches that the Folly of others drew upon it.

R E M A R K S.

The Earl of *Danby*, it seems, was one of those Gentlemen who was so unfortunate as to incur our Author's Displeasure; so that we are not much to wonder at those Misrepresentations and vile Suggestions we meet with concerning that noble Peer. We are told by Mr. *Echard*, that the Cause of all that Clamour against this Minister, proceeded from his Endeavours to bring the King out of those destructive Measures he had been led into by the late Cabal, and the *French* Interest: That his rejecting the many Offers made him by *France* with a generous Indignation, had given such a Dislike to that Court, that it became a Maxim amongst them, *That he must be ruin'd, before they could do any Good in England.* To effect this, Monsieur *Barillon* the
French

French Ambassador, found it the best Way to join with one of the Parties in the Parliament, and young *Rouviigny* was sent over from *France* purposely to manage with the Lord *Russel*, and other Malecontents in the House of Commons; while the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Essex*, and others of the same Party, join'd with the Dukes of *Portsmouth*, to lessen his Reputation with the King, who had already been displeas'd with him for giving so much Countenance to the Plot: These seeming separate Interests being thus combin'd, and devoted to his Destruction, there wanted only a fair Opportunity to accomplish it; and this was effected by means of *Montague*, formerly Ambassador at the *French* Court, a Person of great Parts and Subtlety, who had been for some time projecting, and obtaining *French* Money for his *Britannick* Majesty; but that Part of his Employment being, or seeming to be at an End, by the approaching Peace, he was desirous to come over and be one of the Secretaries of State; in which he was civilly oppos'd by his old Friend the Lord Treasurer, who had particularly engag'd to bring in Sir *William Temple*: Whereupon he came privately over into *England*, without the King's Consent or Knowledge; and not only got himself chosen into the House of Commons for *Northampton*, but secretly join'd himself with *Barillon* and the discontented Members, and seem'd to wait for the first Occasion to expose his Master's Secrets, and to defeat his prime Minister; which thus presented itself.

The King, who began highly to resent *Montague's* Proceedings, receiv'd such Intelligence from Mr. *Olivetcrans* the *Swedish* Ambassador, that on the 19th of *December* he sent a Message to the House of Commons, That upon Information that Mr. *Montague* a Member of that House, and late Ambassador in *France*, had

had held several Conferences with the Pope's Nuncio there, without any Directions or Instructions from his Majesty, his Majesty, to the End that he might know the Truth of that Matter, had given Orders for the seizing Mr. Montague's Papers. The House now looking upon this Gentleman as a Profelyte, seem'd fullen at the Message, and particularly desir'd to know whether the Information was upon Oath, and of what Nature the Offence was. Upon which *Montague* standing up, took this Opportunity to acquaint the House, that he had in his Custody several Papers which he conceiv'd might tend very much to the Safety of his Majesty's Person, and the Preservation of the Kingdom: A Committee was immediately appointed to bring the Writings to the House; which being accordingly done, and Mr. *Montague* order'd to select such of them as he thought for the Service of the House, and dispose of the rest as he pleas'd, he produc'd two Letters, out of many others, both subscrib'd, *Danby*; and both written to him when he was Ambassador at *Paris*.

These were the Letters our Author mentions; and tho' at the Bottom of the Letter wherein the Money demanded of the *French* was mention'd, the King had written these Words, *This Letter is written by my Order*, C. R. the Commons resolv'd, upon the reading these Letters, that there was sufficient Matter of Impeachment against the Earl of *Danby*, and by the Help of *Montague*, within two Days, drew up Articles of Impeachment against him: Upon bringing up of the Articles to the House of Lords, the Earl made a Speech in his Vindication, wherein he told their Lordships, that he had transacted nothing considerable but what he had his Majesty's Orders and Directions, under his own Hand for; and as he was charg'd with discountenancing the

the Discovery of the Popish Plot, and contriving the Destruction of the King, it was impossible any thing could be more contrary to his own Interest; for there was not one Man living whose Happiness depended so much upon the Preservation of the King's Person, as his own; and he had been so far from concealing the Information of the Plot, that the Person who discover'd it, had own'd at the Bar of the House of Commons, that he had all the Encouragement and Dispatch from him that he could give him: That he was also particularly instrumental in seizing Mr. *Coleman's* Papers, which were the most material Evidence of the Plot. And as to that Article which charg'd him with wasting the King's Treasure, he had not seen one Farthing given to his Majesty in almost six Years, which had not been appropriated to particular Uses, and strictly apply'd by him as the Acts directed; and whatever Aids had been given for any particular Purpose, his Majesty had been forc'd to advance more Money than was given for it, as for building of Ships, and the like; insomuch that he had the Vanity to say, that by the Payments he had made to the Navy and Seamen, beyond former Times, the paying off the greatest Part of the Debt which was stopp'd in the *Exchequer* before his Time, by his Punctuality in the Course of Payments, and other things which he was able to shew, he doubted not to appear meritorious, instead of being criminal upon that Article; and instead of any great Gettings in those six Years he had been in the Treasury, he had not got half what others had, in Places inferior to his, in much less Time; and if that Matter were examin'd, his Prudence might be call'd in question in having done so little for his Family: And tho' he was accus'd of being popishly inclin'd, he was confident, that had he been either a Papist, or a Friend to the

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French, he had not been now accus'd; adding, that I have Reason to believe, that the principal Informer of the House of Commons, hath been assisted by *French* Advice to this Accusation; and if that Gentleman were as just to produce all he knows for me, as he hath been malicious to shew what may be liable to Misconstruction against me, or rather against the King, as indeed it is, no Man could vindicate me more than himself, under whose Hand I have to shew, how great an Enemy to *France* I am thought, how much I might have had to have been otherwise, and what he himself might have had for getting me to take it. But I do not wonder this Gentleman will do me no Right, when he does not think fit to do it to his Majesty, upon whom chiefly this Matter must reflect; though he knows, as will appear under his Hand, that the greatest Invitations to his Majesty for having Money from *France* have been made by himself: That if his Majesty would have been tempted for Money, he might have sold Towns for as much, as if they had been his own, and the Money have been conveyed as privately as he pleased: That his Majesty might have made Matches with *France*, if he would have consented to have given them Towns, and yet, that the King hath always scorn'd to yield the meanest Village that was not agreed to by the *Spaniard* and *Hollander*. That Gentleman hath often pretended, how much his own Interest in *France* was diminish'd, only by being thought my Friend: And besides, diverse other Instances I have under his Hand, to shew the Malice of the *French* Court against me, I sent two of his Letters to the House of Commons, which shew, how Monsieur *Rouvigny* was sent hither to ruin me, which I am well assured, at this Time, they would rather see, than of any other Man in *England*. Be-

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sides what that Gentleman could say of this kind, if he pleas'd, I hope his Majesty will give me leave in my Defence, to say, in his Presence, and in the Hearing of diverse Lords, with whom I have the Honour to sit in the Committee of foreign Affairs, that, which were it not true, his Majesty must think me the impudentest and worst of Men to affirm before him; That ever since I had the Honour to serve his Majesty to this Day, I have delivered it as my constant Opinion, that *France* was the worst Interest his Majesty could embrace, and that they were the Nation in the World, from whom I did believe, he ought to apprehend the greatest Danger, and who have both his PERSON and GOVERNMENT under the last Degree of Contempt; for which Reason alone, were there no other, I would never advise his Majesty to trust to their Friendship.

This Speech sufficiently demonstrates, that the Court was far from being in a *French* Interest during the Lord *Danby's* Administration; and all this Clamour of demanding Money from *France*, upon consenting to a Peace, is no more, than what the Great *Harry* the Seventh, and all Princes, when they have had the like Advantages, have insisted upon. If the King had indeed sold the Allies, and compelled them to accept of hard Terms, there had been something in the Objection; but when it was plain that the Allies were forwarder in making Peace than his Majesty, and that the King endeavoured to procure better Terms for them, than they themselves insisted on, what Colour can there be for our Author's vile Insinuations? It was in the King's Power we find to have sold the Towns in *Flanders*, as if they had been his own; but he refused to yield up the meanest Village his Allies did not agree to; and when they had too hastily clapped

up a Peace, without taking due Caution to have the Barrier Towns deliver'd up, we find this King, who is charged with being in the Interest of *France*, compelled the *French* to evacuate them.

Nor are our Author's Reflections upon the Lord *Danby*, much more just than those upon his Majesty. It was this Lord, it seems, that paid the Debt which had been stopp'd in the Exchequer during the Whig Administration; and the Money given by Parliament was so far from being misapplied in his Time, that the King parted with his own Money, to supply the Deficiencies in the Taxes. Justly did the Treasurer also glory in the small Gains he had made during the six Years he was in that profitable Post, when others had made so great Advantages in much less; and no Prince, except his Majesty's Royal Father, ever did more to satisfy a discontented People, than King *Charles* the Second: He parted not only with his most faithful Ministers, but even with his Brother, that he might leave them no Pretence for Clamour; and surely, such base and barbarous Methods were never before taken to ruin innocent Men, as the *Shaftsbury* Faction now practised: Prisoners and Men under Sentence of Condemnation were sometimes tortur'd, sometimes wheedled with Hopes of Pardon or Preferments, to make them accuse such Persons as the vile Managers had mark'd out for Destruction, as I shall shew more at large, when I come to make my Observations on the pretended Popish Plot. But what occasions my mentioning these Practices here, is the Case of the Lord *Danby*, whom they procured *Fitzharris* to accuse of the Murder of *Godfrey*, and he was accordingly indicted for it; tho' to their Shame, *Fitzharris* afterwards retracted his Evidence, and declared, that he was put upon accusing the Lord *Danby* of *Godfrey's* Murder

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by the Saints, because the Crime of Murder was not inserted in his Pardon.

However, thus far the Faction carried their Point, that they procur'd the Lord *Danby* to be confin'd a Prisoner in the Tower for several Years, before the Court of *King's-Bench* durst admit him to Bail, even when there was no Parliament in being: So exceeding terrible had the Commons render'd themselves to the Courts of Justice, by their arbitrary Proceedings.

The Arguments for and against the Exclusion, our Author has stated pretty fairly; but every one must admire the Steadiness of King *Charles* as to this Point, who is represented as so indolent, so easy a Gentleman, that he could not resist the least Importunity, and would sacrifice his dearest Friends, rather than suffer a Moment's Uneasiness on their Account; and yet we see him maintaining his Ground in this Point against three successive Parliaments, and when they had thrown the Nation into such Confusion, as threaten'd an universal Ruin, when the Church and the Monarchy were both boldly attacked again, and the Bishops fallen upon as they had been in the Year 41, and the Party hoped to have compell'd the King to have proceeded in his Concessions, as his Royal Father had done; though he did every Thing in Reason to satisfy the Faction, if they would have been satisfied; He wisely kept the Militia in his own Hands, and shewed such a Firmness and Resolution, that at length he extricated himself out of all his Difficulties, and obliged them to return to their Duty; which demonstrates, not only a mighty Genius, but such Application and Address, as our Author every where insinuates this Prince was incapable of. Should it be admitted, that he desired to be easy himself, and to see all his Subjects so, according to the Duke
of

of *Bucks*, yet when he found a restless turbulent Faction, whom nothing would satisfy, unless he would have consented to resign the Sovereign Power to them, and to alter the Constitution; then did this Prince exert himself, and shew how much he was superior to his Adversaries, and how easily he could baffle the Designs of the Republican Leaders.

I shall not enter into the Argument for and against the Bishops Right of voting in Capital Cases, because it seems now to be settled, that the Bishops ought to vote in all Matters previous to the Trial, as to the Validity of a Pardon, and the like, though not in the Trial itself; and the Bishops, our Author admits, were so far from deserving the Censures cast upon them, for insisting on their Privilege in the Earl of *Danby's* Case, that they offered to withdraw, if his Majesty would have permitted it: So unjust was that whiggish Clamour, that they would sacrifice the Safety of the Nation to their private Interests; but there is nothing so absurd, nothing so false, but the Whigs will affirm to support their detested Cause.

There is another Remark that is very obvious, namely, that though our Author represents King *Charles* the Second, as being so far from having any Affection for his Brother the Duke of *York*, that he ever remained under the greatest Dread of him; yet when a Bill was brought in for the banishing the Duke, and excluding him from the Succession of the Crown, and the Parliament would have granted any Money, or oblig'd the King in every Thing he could have asked, if he would have yielded to this, he opposed it more strenuously, and was content to run more Hazards to support his Brother, than ever he had done upon any other Occasion whatever; which must be imputed either to his Affection, or his Justice to the Duke, whose

Duty to his Majesty was such, that he had never made any Difficulty to obey him in any one Instance, during his whole Reign. And whereas our good Bishop insinuates, that the King was unconcerned at the Duke's Absence, when the Necessity of his Affairs requir'd the Duke's going to *Flanders*, it is observable that the Lord *Nottingham*, in his Speech on this Occasion, tells the Parliament, that the Separation was attended with a more than ordinary Sorrow on both Sides.

ABRIDGMENT.

Our Author now returns to the Affairs of *Scotland*, and tells us, that the Party that oppos'd Duke *Lauderdale*, observing the great Changes that were made in *England*, that his Royal Highness was sent Abroad, and the Earl of *Danby*, *Lauderdale's* great Support, was committed to the Tower, begun to take Heart again, and preferr'd their Complaints in writing to his Majesty, against the L. *Lauderdale*. The King having heard the Lawyers on both sides, our Author tells us, it was made out beyond the Possibility of an Answer, that the ordering an Army to live upon free Quarters in a Time of Peace, was contrary to their Constitution, and never done but in Cases of Rebellion. *Mackenzie*, Duke *Lauderdale's* Advocate, insisted indeed, that the Field-Conventicles were stil'd in the Act a Rendezvous of Rebellion, and that the Country where these were held, was in a State of War; but though Kings, our Author observes, love to hear their Prerogative magnified, his Majesty had nothing to say in Defence of *Lauderdale*, but acknowledged, that many damned Things had been objected to his Administration, but nothing against his Service: And thus Kings often set up an Interest for themselves, op-
posite

posite to their People's, he says, which when the People observe, they will naturally set up their Interest in Opposition to their Prince, and are generally too hard for him in the Contest, unless he can subdue and govern them by an Army. The Malecontents, he immediately adds, seeing such Distractions in *England*, thought they had nothing to fear from thence; and those mad People, who us'd to assemble at Field-Conventicles drew together in great Bodies, and often fir'd at, and kill'd several of the King's Troops, when they came to disperse them.

That a Party of these furious Men, as they were riding through a Moor near St. *Andrew's*, seeing the Archbishop's Coach appear, and no Horsemen attending it, concluded according to their enthusiastick Notions, that God had now delivered their greatest Enemy into their Hands, whereupon seven of them attack'd the Coach, while the rest posted themselves so as to prevent any Relief coming to him: One of the Assassins fir'd a Pistol so near the Bishop, that he burnt his Coat and Gown, but the Bullet did not enter his Body, whereupon they fancied he had a magical Secret, that no Shot would hurt him: They dragg'd him therefore out of his Coach, and murdered him barbarously; after which they got clear off. This struck all People with Horror, he says, and soften'd his Enemies so far, that his Memory was treated with Decency by those, who did not give him much Respect in his Life Time. A Field-Conventicle was held near *Glasgow* about a Week after this, and the Guards coming to disperse them, they defeated the Guards, and killed about thirty of them upon the Spot: Afterwards they march'd to *Glasgow*, being led by a younger Son of Sir *Thomas Hamilton's*, who was a near Relation of our Author's, and had been educated by

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him,

him, but became afterwards, he tells us, a crack-brain'd Enthusiast; and Lord *Lauderdale* gave out, that our Author had prepared him for such Undertakings, while he was under his Tuition. The King's Troops that were in *Glasgow*, our Author says, retir'd on the Approach of the Rebels, though they were not then above four or five hundred, and so ill provided, that a Troop of Horse might easily have dispers'd them.

The Earl of *Linlithgow* being detach'd against the Rebels by the Council of *Edinburgh*, with a thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse and Dragoons, pretending that he had Intelligence that they were eight thousand strong retir'd; which some imputed to his Fears, but others to his Friendship for Duke *Lauderdale*, and that he willingly gave the Rebels Opportunity to increase their Numbers, in order to justify the Severity of the Duke's Administration. But it appear'd, our Author says, that there had been no form'd Design of an Insurrection; for none join'd them, but intercommon'd desperate Men, who had been driven from their Houses, and forc'd upon these Extravagancies. They publish'd a sort of Manifesto, complaining of great Oppression, and asserting the Obligation of the Covenant; and this the Duke of *Lauderdale* suggested, was the Effect of his Majesty's hearkening to their Complaints; though all indifferent Men, he says, imputed it to *Lauderdale's* insolent and tyrannical Administration.

The Duke of *Monmouth* was sent down to command the King's Troops against the Rebels, and the Forces in the North of *England* were order'd to be in a Readiness to march; but *Lauderdale* apprehending, that if the Rebels were treated with, they might be induced to submit, and pretend they were forc'd into that Insurrection by the Severity of his Government,

ment, procur'd Orders to be sent after *Monmouth*, that he should not treat with them, but fall on them presently; yet he acknowledges, that the Duke of *Monmouth* march'd so slowly, that they had Time enough given them to have made their Peace, if they had been dispos'd to submit.

They would have treated with the Duke of *Monmouth* upon certain Terms, we are told, but unless they would lay down their Arms, and submit to the King's Mercy, he let them know he could not treat with them; if they would agree to this, he would interpose for a Pardon. But, our Author says, they had neither the Grace to submit, nor the Sense to march away, nor the Courage to fight it out, but suffer'd the Duke to make himself Master of a Bridge, which they might easily have defended, and upon the first Charge, threw down their Arms and run away. They were about four thousand Men, our Author says, but ill arm'd: Two or three hundred of them were kill'd, and about twelve hundred taken Prisoners; the Duke of *Monmouth* putting a Stop to the Execution as soon he could, though some mov'd they should be all killed upon the Spot. And this was objected afterwards as a neglect of the King's Service, and a courting the People, particularly by the Duke of *York*; and the King himself said, if he had been there, they should not have had the Trouble of Prisoners; to which *Monmouth* answered, he could not kill Men in cold Blood, which was the Work of Butchers. *Monmouth* sent home the Militia, we are told, and kept his Troops under such Discipline, as preserv'd the Country from Ruin; and the very Fanatics confess'd, they were dealt with more gently than their Madnesſe deserved: And *Monmouth* assured the King, that these Field-Conventicles proceeded only from the Severities, us'd against those

that were held within Doors; whereupon an Act of Indemnity pass'd, which the Lord *Lauderdale* having the drawing of, he took Care it should contain a Pardon for himself, and his Party, though he clog'd it sufficiently in relation to the Rebels, excepting all Gentlemen, Preachers, and Officers out of it. Two Preachers were hang'd, but the rest of the Prisoners were all discharg'd, upon giving a Bond to keep the Peace, only two hundred who were sent to *Virginia* were all cast away. The King order'd Meeting-Houses to be allow'd in *Scotland* again, our Author tells us, but *Monmouth's* Interest declining soon after, they were shut up almost as soon as they were open'd; for this, their Enemies observ'd, look'd like rewarding their Rebellion.

R E M A R K S.

The Faction in *Scotland*, it seems, kept Pace with their Friends in *England*; and while this part of the Nation was amus'd and distracted with a Sham Plot, they were engaged in a real one in the North, and assembling by thousands and ten thousands arm'd at their Field-Conventicles, and renewing that Covenant whereby their Fathers so successfully effected the Ruin of three flourishing Kingdoms; and indeed, the Fanaticks were grown so insolent and assuming through the whole Island at that Time, that most Men are apt to think at this Day, that the Popish Plot was originally designed for a Blind to cover their seditious Practices, and skreen their Friends from the just Resentment of the Government; though the Saints afterwards improv'd the Design, and made it serve to several other wicked Purposes, which were not thought of at first.

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And though by the Constitution of *Scorland*, as well as *England*, the keeping up a Body of Troops in Time of Peace may be illegal, yet sure the King's Advocate had Reason to denominate it a Time of War, when the Rebels engaged the King's Troops, frequently defeated them, and compell'd them to retire with considerable Loss. Kings may, and do, no doubt, sometimes set up an Interest distinct from that of their People; but it can never be for the Interest of King or People, to suffer arm'd Rebels to assemble daily in vast Bodies, insolently arraign the Conduct of their Governors, and rob and murder all such as they are pleased to denominate Enemies of their Kirk. Our Author seems now to be driven to his last Resort, and since he can no longer defend their repeated Treasons and barbarous Cruelties, he calls them a Set of religious Madmen, and crack-brain'd Enthusiasts. All these Murders and Robberies, he insinuates, were piously design'd, and therefore the Government ought to connive at them, lest they should be thought to discountenance *Liberty of Conscience*; and now we see how far that specious Pretence, and a Fondness for those he had been educated amongst, could carry our Author. The Executions of the Regicides in *England* at this rate, must be looked upon as so many Murders, for these too were all of them Enthusiasts to a Man; nay, the whole Army under *Oliver* were such crack-brain'd Enthusiasts, and therefore ought never to have been oppos'd, for fear of wounding tender Consciences, and offending their weak Brethren; and that our Author may not be thought inconsistent with himself, he does really lament and censure the Execution of many of these.

But I shall proceed to consider that most pious and heroical Exploit our Author mentions next, namely, the Murder of the Archbishop of St.
Andrew's,

Andrews; this, he wou'd insinuate, was never deliberately contriv'd by the Saints, but only the Effect of a sudden Rage; some of these Madmen, he says, *happening* to spy the Archbishop's Coach without Attendance, thought that God had now *providentially* deliver'd their greatest Enemy into their Hands: But if we shou'd admit that they had no Design to intercept the Archbishop, and shou'd entirely forget the Attempt that godly Preacher and Assassin *Mitchel* made upon him; yet from that very Expression, that *God had now deliver'd their Enemy into their Hands*, it is evident that, according to their constant and avow'd Principles, they might and ought to destroy every Enemy to their Kirk, when they had a favourable Opportunity: And how the good Bishop cou'd offer at an Excuse or Extenuation of the Crime, or term it a rash Action, when the Assassins themselves gloried in the Fact at their Execution, is not easy to imagine. A late Wit has indeed attempted to prove private Vices to be publick Benefits; but he certainly never design'd to patronize and excuse Murderers and Assassins, as this pious Prelate does; tho' 'tis observable there are a Set of Men at this Day in *England*, who, like the *Scots Cameronians*, think the World can never be happy while Priests and Prelates are suffer'd in it; and the next Step probably may be an Attempt to rid the World of these Monsters, according to the Example of the *Scots* Fanaticks, when they have a favourable Opportunity. But to return, the Reader will excuse me if I here present him with a faithful Account of the Murder of his Grace.

The Archbishop of *St. Andrews* had been attending his Majesty's Service in the Privy Council at *Edinburgh*, from whence he went over into *Fife*, in the Afternoon, on the 2d of *May*, 1679; that Night he lodg'd at Captain *Seaton's*, in a Village call'd

call'd *Kennoway*, which is in the Midway between *Bruntisland* and *St. Andrews*; about Midnight, as the People of the Town report, two Men well mounted and arm'd came thither, to enquire if the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was lodg'd at Captain *Seaton's*; and as soon as they were inform'd that he was, they presently rode out of the Town again. The next Morning, being the 3d of *May*, several Parties of Horsemen were seen to traverse the Road betwixt *Kennoway* and *St. Andrews*; but the Lord Primate, who was a Man of great natural Courage, and whom so many Deliverances, for almost twenty Years, from the Hands of those bloody Zealots, had now brought to an entire Confidence in God's Protection, took Coach, about nine of the Clock; having none but his elder Daughter with him, and three Servants on Horseback to attend him; one of whom he had sent, before he was assaulted, to pay his Respects to a Person of Honour, by whose House he pass'd on the Road: He advanc'd in his Journey in great Security, till he came to a little Country Village, call'd *Magus*, two Miles distant from *St. Andrews*, betwixt eleven and twelve of the Clock in the Forenoon; there he first perceiv'd himself to be pursu'd by eleven or twelve Men, bare-fac'd, well mounted, with Pistols cock'd in their Hands, and drawn Swords hanging in Strings from their Arms: As soon as he spied them, he bid his Coachman drive as fast as his Horses could gallop; but too late, for the Assassins furiously pursued him, and in their Pursuit shot at him several times in the Coach, running as fast as six good Horses could draw it: The Coachman had certainly outdriven them, if one *Balfour*, of *Kinlock*, mounted on a very fleet bay Horse, had not overtaken them; who rode up to the Postilion, whom he wounded with his Sword, in the Face, shot one of the fore-
most

most Coach-horses, hamstring'd the other, and stopp'd the Coach: By that time this was done, the rest of the Murderers came up, and one of them fir'd a Pistol, or a Blunderbuss, so near his Breast that his Daughter rubb'd off the burning which stuck to his Gown; then they call'd him Dog! Villain! Apostate! Persecutor of the Godly! Betrayer of Jesus Christ, and his Church, &c. and bid him come out of the Coach to receive what he deserv'd for his Wickedness. Upon this, his Daughter got out of the Coach, and fell on her Knees, begging her Father's Life; but they regarded neither her Prayers nor Tears, threw her down several times upon the Ground, trampled upon her, and wounded her; which her Father seeing, after much reproachful Language, and many Threatnings, came out of the Coach, and with Calmness said unto them, *Gentlemen, I know not that I ever injur'd any of you; or if I did, I am ready to make you Reparation; and therefore I beseech you to spare my Life, and I promise I will never pursue you for this Violence; and I pray you consider, before you bring the Guilt of innocent Blood upon your selves.* The Reverence of his Presence, and his undaunted Courage, in addressing himself so resolutely and gravely to them, surpriz'd them, and made them stand a little while, as it were unresolv'd what to do; and one of them relenting, cry'd to the rest, *Spare these grey Hairs.* But their cruel Zeal overcoming their natural Pity, they reply'd, *He must die, he must die:* And then again calling him *Traitorous Villain! Judas! Betrayer of the Interest of Christ! Enemy to God and his People!* said to him, *Thou shalt now receive the Reward of thy Apostacy, and Enmity to the People of God.* Then, seeing them determin'd to take away his Life, he begg'd a little while to pray, telling them he would pray for them: But they scornfully told him, that they cared not for his Prayers;

Prayers; being sure that God would not hear so base a Dog as he was. Then looking stedfastly upon one of the Assassins, whom he seem'd to know, he kneel'd down before him, and said, *Sir, you are a Gentleman, and I must beg my last Favour from you, that since you are resolv'd I must die, you would have Pity upon my poor Child here, and spare her Life; and for this, Sir, give me your Hand:* And stretching out his Hand towards the cruel Man, he receiv'd a Stroke with a Sword, which almost quite cut off his Hand, and the Villain redoubling his Blow, gave him another Wound upon the left Eye. This Stroke knock'd him down; but getting upon his Knees again, he said, *Gentlemen, it is now enough; you have done your Work:* And holding up his Hands, as well as he could, to Heaven, he fervently cry'd out, *Lord Jesus, have Mercy on my Soul, and receive my Spirit.* While he was in this Posture of Devotion, they wounded him in his Hands, which he held up to Heaven, and in other Parts of his Body, till, in a kind of Composure, he laid down his Head upon his Arm, saying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.* These were the last Words; after which they gave him no less than sixteen Wounds on his Head, insomuch that it seem'd to be all one Wound; and Pieces of his shatter'd Skull and Brains were some Days after found on the Ground. Having thus hackt and cleft his Head, some of them, as they were going away, thought they heard him groan; which made them go back, and, to make sure Work, stirr'd about his Brains in the Skull, with the Points of their Swords. Having finish'd their long-desir'd Murder, they made his Servants solemnly swear not to discover them; and then bad them, in Derision, take up their Priest; and having said so, rode back to *Magnus*, where they first assaulted the Coach; and one of them, by Name *John Balfour* of

of *Kinlock*, as he pass'd by that Town, was heard to say, very audibly and distinctly, that now *Judas* was kill'd.

The Account our Author has given us of the Rebellion, being as defective as the Relation of the Archbishop's Murder, it will be necessary to shew how that Insurrection was carried on: The Party being sensible that so horrid a Murder committed upon an Archbishop and a Privy Counsellor, at Noon-day, cou'd not pass without a severe Animadversion from the Government, soon after broke out into open Rebellion, proclaim'd the Covenant, and burnt such Acts of Parliament as had been made against them since the Restoration; and tho' our Author makes their Forces so inconsiderable, they had, by the 1st of *June*, assembled fifteen hundred Men, well arm'd; the Foot being commanded by one *Weir*, a famous Preacher; and their Horse by *Balfour* and *Hackston*, two of the Murderers of the Archbishop; and *Hamilton*, our Author's Kinsman, whom he mentions, had a Share in the Command: They were bravely attack'd by Captain *Graham*, afterwards Lord *Dundee*, with a Troop of Horse, and a Company of Dragoons; but after a sharp Engagement they oblig'd him to retire: They march'd afterwards to *Glasgow*, where they were beaten off in two Attacks; but their Forces encreasing, the King's Troops thought fit to abandon the Place. When the News of the Insurrection arriv'd at *London*, the Whigs, it seems, and particularly the Lord *Shaftsbury*, oppos'd the sending any *English* Troops to suppress it; but the King was so happy as not to be govern'd by them, and immediately order'd the Duke of *Monmouth* for *Scotland*; who fell upon them the 22d of *June*, 1679, at *Bothwell-Bridge*, and defeated the Rebels, who were then reckon'd to be seventeen thousand strong: But few of the Prisoners

were executed, besides the Murderers of the Archbishop. Thus were the Rebels happily reduc'd, and the Kingdom restor'd to a quiet Condition; to the great Mortification of the Whigs in the *South*, who propos'd to have made as great Advantages by this Insurrection, as they had done by their sham Plot.

But here 'tis observable, that all that Grace and Compassion his Majesty extended to the Rebels, our Author has entirely depriv'd the King of the Glory of, and transferr'd it to his Favourite the Duke of *Monmouth*; nay, he makes his Majesty under a Concern that the Prisoners were not all cut to Pieces; which surely is not very consistent with that extraordinary Clemency his Majesty afterwards shew'd in passing an Act of Indemnity, and suffering so very few of them to be brought to Justice, when he had them at his Mercy; but, as has been observ'd already, whether King *Charles* executed or spar'd his Rebel Subjects, our Author seems determin'd that the World shall look upon him as a cruel implacable Tyrant. It is observable also what a mighty Difference there is between the Air of *North* and *South Britain*; in *Scotland* our Author was ever an Advocate for a Royal Indulgence, and a Suspension of the penal Laws against the Dissenters; while in the *South*, a dispensing with the penal Laws is an Evidence of the King's refusing to govern according to Law; it is a Subversion of our very Constitution, and in short amounts to an Abdicacion of the Government: So unhappy are our Kings, it seems, that in *North Britain* they deserve to be depos'd for not dispensing with the Laws, and in *South Britain* for dispensing with them.

ABRIDGMENT.

The King being taken ill the beginning of *September*, 79, the Duke of *York* was privately sent for over; but before he arriv'd his Majesty recover'd; whereupon the Duke return'd again to *Flanders*, but mov'd that the Duke of *Monmouth* might be depriv'd of his Commands, and sent Abroad likewise; which *Monmouth's* Friends advis'd him to agree to, believing that when the Parliament met they would advise his Majesty to recall him.

The Duke of *York's* Party, our Author tells us, endeavour'd to inflame Matters, and insinuated there was a Design to seize upon the *Tower*; and to give a Colour to such Reports, *Dangerfield* about this Time, contriv'd a Plot in favour of the Papists, and would have engag'd several Persons to swear, that they had been invited to accept of Commissions by the Disaffected, and to assist in altering the Government, and banishing the Royal Family. He was brought to the Duke, and afterwards to the King, we are told, and had a weekly Allowance assign'd him; and having contriv'd to leave a Bundle of seditious Papers in Colonel *Mansel's* Chamber, procur'd the Custom-House Officers to seize them, upon Pretence of searching for prohibited Goods. A great Noise was made of the Discovery, but upon farther Enquiry it appear'd, the Letters were counterfeit, and a Paper containing the whole Scheme, being found in a Tub of Meal, it came to be call'd the Meal-Tub-Plot, and *Dangerfield* being clapt up, confess'd the whole Intrigue.

The Earls of *Essex* and *Halifax* mov'd the King to call a Parliament, but he did not think it proper, while Mens Spirits were sharpen'd by this new Discovery;

Discovery; whereupon *Essex* laid down his Post in the Treasury, our Author says, and *Halifax* was taken ill, which he thinks proceeded from his Vexation, at the ill Conduct of the Court. It being propos'd by the Lord *Tweeddale*, as more for the Duke's Interest, that he should reside in *Scotland*, than in *Flanders*, the King approved the Motion, and order'd the Duke to come over to him to *New-Market*: *Shaftsbury* assembled the Council, and represented the Danger his Majesty was in by the Duke's being so near him; whereupon *Shaftsbury* was turn'd out, and *Roberts*, Earl of *Radnor*, was made President of the Council in his room.

The D. of *Monmouth*, upon his Royal Highness's removing to *Scotland*, desir'd to be recall'd, and when the King would not consent to it, came over without Leave, but the King refus'd to see him; whereupon he resign'd himself to the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Management, who put him upon making a Progress through several Parts of *England*, and rendring himself popular: And thousands of People assembled in many Places to see him, which look'd like a mustering of the Forces of the Party; but our Author thinks it did them no Service.

The Lord *Shaftsbury* about this Time also promoted Petitions for calling a new Parliament, to secure the King's Person, and the Protestant Religion; On the contrary, a Proclamation was issued out against them, and Counter-Petitions promoted, expressing an Abhorrence of all seditious Practices, and referring the calling a Parliament to his Majesty's Wisdom.

The King being now influenc'd by the Duke, our Author says, resolv'd not to call a Parliament this Winter; whereupon the Lords *Russel* and *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powel*, desir'd to

be dismiss'd from their Attendance in Council, with which the King was offended, and grew more sullen and intractable than ever.

At this Time, we are told, that the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lords *Hyde* and *Godolphin* governed all Affairs. *Godolphin*, our Author says, was one of the worthiest and wisest Men of his Time, and had the Confidence of four Princes successively, and yet he lov'd gaming the most of any Man of Business: One Reason he gave for it, was, that it deliver'd him from the Necessity of talking much.

In the beginning of the Year 80, the Duke of *York* came to *England*, where he remain'd till the following Winter, when the Parliament was to sit. Foreign Affairs seem'd now to be forgot; the *Dutch* look'd upon the Court to be in the *French* Interest; and yet we are told, they were about to form a Confederacy against *France*, which the King seem'd inclin'd to come into.

Here our Author gives us an Account of the Election of Sheriffs at *Midsummer*, 1680. The usual Way, he says, had been for the Mayor to name one of the Sheriffs upon drinking to him, and the Charge of that Office being so great, there was seldom any struggling for it; but now it was thought to be a more important Concern, on Account of the returning good Juries, therefore the Person the Mayor had drank to was set aside, and *Bethel* and *Cornish* were elected. *Bethel*, our Author says, was a Man of Letters, but a Republican; sullen and wilful, and liv'd sordidly during his Shrievalty: *Cornish* was a warm honest Man, and kept his Shrievalty hospitably. The Court apprehended this to be a Design to pack Juries, and that they must expect no Justice, when such Men as *Bethel*, who had approved the King's Murder in
very

very indecent Terms, and *Cornish*, who was also an Independent, were chosen Sheriffs.

These Men, though they had never receiv'd the Sacrament at Church before, made no Scruple of doing it to qualify themselves for that Office; which gave People Occasion to say, that the serving an end, would remove the Scruples of the Dissenters at any Time.

The Lord *Sunderland*, our Author tells us, about this Time enter'd into a very particular Confidence with the Prince of *Orange*; and both he, and the Duchess of *Portsmouth*, and *Godolphin*, when the Bill of Exclusion was brought in again this Winter, declar'd openly for it. The Lord *Sunderland*, it seems, consulted our Author about it; and the Lord *Halifax* enter'd into a Discourse with him upon that Subject, and assured him, the King would consent to any Limitations, so that they would leave the Duke but the Title of King: But the Party depending upon the Hopes the Lady *Portsmouth* and the Lord *Sunderland* gave them of carrying the Exclusion, made them refuse all Limitations.

The States of *Holland*, it seems, presented Memorials to his Majesty on this Subject, pressing him to agree to the Exclusion; and the Prince of *Orange*, though he did not publickly appear in it, yet was understood to approve the Design; and this procur'd him the Duke of *York*'s Hatred, which was never remov'd. The Earls of *Essex* and *Shaftsbury* argued most for the Bill of Exclusion in the House of Lords; but the Earl of *Halifax*, who was on the other side, had a visible Superiority, our Author says, and was too hard for the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, in the Opinion of the whole House, and the Bill was thrown out on the first reading. The Commons were so enrag'd at the Loss of their Bill, that they address'd the King to remove the Lord *Halifax*

from his Councils, which our Author thinks was a little unparliamentary, and affected the Freedom of Debates, and some call'd him Papist, and others Atheist; whereupon it was mov'd in the House to send for our Author, to satisfy them about that Lord's Religion, and he wish'd he could as easily have satisfied them that *Halifax* was a good Christian, as that he was no Papist: Our Author was in great Favour, he says, with that House of Commons, and receiv'd their Thanks for his first Volume of the History of the Reformation.

The Parliament having address'd the King for a Fast, Dr. *Sprat* and our Author were order'd to preach before the Commons. Our Author mentioned no more of the Plot, he says, than was contained in *Coleman's* Letters: *Sprat* went something farther in his Belief of the Plot, but then he insinuated his Fears of the Commons Undutifulness to his Majesty, which so offended them, that they did not return him Thanks, as they did our Author, which rais'd *Sprat's* Merit at Court, and sunk the good Bishop's. *Sprat* had studied a polite Stile, our Author says, but it had little Strength in it; and though the Beginnings of Learning were well laid in him, he had long allow'd himself in Sloth, and took great Liberties.

The King sent several Messages to the Houses for a Supply for *Tangier*, and to enable him to enter into Alliances; but the Commons gave him to understand, that they would do nothing till the Exclusion was past; but on the contrary address'd against the Ministry, impeach'd several Judges, and Mr. *Seymour* the Treasurer of the Navy. They asserted also the Rights of the People to petition for a Parliament, expelled Sir *Francis Withins* their House, and took several others into Custody, for signing the

the Counter-Addresses of Abhorrence abovementioned. They sent their Sergeant also to several Parts of *England*, to bring up the Abhorers as Delinquents; whereupon their Right to imprison those who were not their own Members came into Question, and several whom the Sergeant was sent for refus'd to come up.

Here our Author takes an Opportunity to tell us, that the famous *Habeas Corpus* Act that pass'd in the last Parliament was carried by a Trick, for that the Lord *Grey* and the Lord *Norris* being appointed Tellers, the Lord *Norris* was troubled with Vapours, which made him sometimes not attend what he was about, and a very fat Lord coming in, the Lord *Grey*, by way of Jest, counted him for ten, and perceiving that the Lord *Norris* did not observe it, he went on with this misreckoning, and it was declar'd there was a Majority for the Bill, though in Truth there was not: And thus this Bill was pass'd.

The Commons proceeded, our Author tells us, in a higher Strain than they had ever done before, and voted all Anticipations of the Revenue against Law, and that whoever lent Money upon the Credit of those Anticipations, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom, hoping by this Means to have brought the King to their Terms: But this rais'd a heavy Clamour against them, as if they intended to starve the King, and their Vote had no Effect, for the King's Credit remain'd as good as ever.

Then they voted an Association for revenging the King's Death upon all Papists, if he should happen to be kill'd, after the Precedent in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, upon which it was said, that she was in Danger only of the Papists, but this King was more in Danger from the Republicans, and *Cromwell's* Officers, who were yet alive; and these

would by this Vote be encourag'd to attempt the King's Life, knowing that the Suspicion and Revenge of it would fall upon the Duke and the Papists; and many were perswaded, that this Association was design'd rather to destroy the King than preserve him.

The House of Lords were busied this Sessions in finding out Expedients upon their rejecting the Bill of Exclusion; and the Lord *Essex* mov'd, that an Association might be enter'd into to maintain those Expedients, and that some cautionary Towns might be put into the Hands of the Associators during the King's Life, to make them good after his Death, which the King look'd upon, as a deposing of himself, and still worse than the Bill of Exclusion; and the King now begun to think himself leuell'd at chiefly, though his Brother's Name was us'd for Decency's sake; and the Truth is, our Author says, that the leading Men thought themselves so sure of the Nation, and of all future Elections, while they were under the Terror of Popery, that they did not doubt but to compel the King to submit to their Terms. They relied much also on the Lady *Portsmouth's* Interest, who declar'd herself for the House of Commons; and she was so dear to the Commons, that when it was mov'd in the House to address for the sending her away, the Gentleman who mov'd it could not be heard. What induc'd the Lady *Portsmouth* to act this Part, we are told, was the Hopes the Party gave her, that if she could bring about the Exclusion, they would pass another Act, to enable the King to declare his Successor, as was done in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth; and such an Ascendant as she had over the King, she would easily prevail on him to declare her Son. The Party also insinuated to the Duke of *Monmouth*, that his Majesty might probably de-

clare him his Successor; and this was the Reason that *Monmouth*, as well as the Lady *Portsmouth*, so strenuously promoted the Bill of Exclusion; though the Nation, our Author thinks, had such a Distrust of the King, that they would never have been brought to such an entire Confidence in him, as to trust him with limiting the Succession. The Lady *Portsmouth* had once brought the King to consent to the Exclusion, our Author says, upon Condition she might have six hundred thousand Pounds; but the Managers of the Commons durst not move for Money till the Bill was past, for fear of losing their Credit by such a Motion, and the King would not trust them; so near was this Point being adjusted, as *Montague* told our Author. As to that good Understanding which was observable between the Duke of *York* and the Duchess of *Portsmouth* at this Time, when she appear'd so much against him, the King had assured the Duke, our Author says, that what she did was by his Majesty's Order, to gain Credit with the Party, and see into their Designs, which the Duke thought it necessary to believe, or at least to seem to believe.

R E M A R K S.

If the Duke of *York*'s Party endeavour'd to inflame Matters, as our Author suggests, it is certain, the Incendiaries on the opposite side were a Match for them: They left no Stone unturn'd to incite an Insurrection: They rais'd their Mobs on the 17th of *November*, as usual, when they have a Rebellion in View, and in their tumultuous Procession carried the Effigies of the Pope, the dead Body of *Godfrey* on Horseback, with one riding behind him, as their Knights of the Post had sworn, and a Bellman went before, to remind the People of his

Murder : Priests in their Copes with Crosses, Friers and Jesuits were part of the Shew ; and after these, to expose the establish'd Church, and to insinuate that the Bishops and Clergy had a Share in their sham Plot, Bishops in Lawn Sleeves and Mitres were in the Train. The Party also went about to procure Hands to factious Petitions for calling a Parliament, insinuating, that Popery and Slavery would otherwise be speedily introduc'd ; and in treasonable Pamphlets, set before the People the most horrid Scenes they could invent. The firing the City, Massacres and Murders, Burning and Tortures on account of their Religion, the People were taught to expect ; and the Duke of *Monmouth* was recommended to them to make Choice of for their King, as the only Champion that wou'd prevent this terrible Destruction : As to the Objection that he had no Title to the Crown, it was answer'd, *that he who had the worst Title, ever made the best King.*

When the Party thus openly discover'd their Intentions, and had procur'd Whig Sheriffs to their Mind, so that they were secure from being brought to Justice, no wonder that the King was apprehensive of Plots from that side : *Dangerfield's* Discoveries were thought to carry an Appearance of Probability with them at first. Had there been a *Shaftsbury* on that side to have managed him, here was a much better Foundation to have built upon, than ever the Popish Plot had ; and there is all the Probability in the World, that this Discoverer, as well as others, was set up, or at least manag'd by the Faction to amuse the People, that they might not see into their real Plots and Designs against the Government, and to support their pretended Popish Plot, which now began to be the Jest of all Companies.

When

When the Parliament met, our Author was much consulted about the Bill of Exclusion, as it appears he was in all Affairs of Note, if we may believe his own relation, notwithstanding he so unmercifully falls upon his Brethren, for concerning themselves with Politicks and Civil Government : His Ambition to be thought a consummate Politician, seems to exceed even that of being canoniz'd for a Saint. The Account our Author has given us of the Duchess of *Portsmouth's* promoting the Exclusion Bill, in order to get the Crown settled upon her Son, must be acknowledg'd to be pure secret History, as well as his Majesty's consenting to it, on Condition they would raise the Duchess six hundred thousand Pounds. The Duchess was too well acquainted with the Distrust the Commons had of his Majesty to think they would ever lodge such a Power with him : The Offer of six hundred thousand Pounds seems to have the more Probability of the two, but since the King might have had much greater Sums given him above Board to have consented to this, and might have had both the Money and the Exclusion comprehended in one Act, if he had ever discover'd an Inclination to consent to the Exclusion, I look upon this Story of the Bishop's as a meer Fable, especially since our Author professes he had it from an Enemy to the Court ; and he has himself assign'd so substantial a Reason for the Duchess's Conduct in this Affair, namely, that the King put her upon it, in order to discover the Designs of the Party, that it is needless to search farther for the Spring of this Proceeding : and the Duke of *York* might well be satisfied with it, when he was assur'd the King would never consent to the Exclusion ; and upon the Encouragement the Duchess gave the Commons to hope the King would be prevail'd on to pass the Exclusion, he might reasonably suppose, they would
never

never consent to any Limitations, so that he should probably come to the Crown with as much Advantage as any of his Ancestors.

But it is merry enough to observe, how the Saints at this Time, to serve their Cause, could court a Popish *French* Mistress; and while they were ready to impeach the harmless honest Queen, take a Courtesan, her Rival, into their Bosom Confidence, to defend them against *France* and Popery; even that very Mistress, whom the Faction formerly exclaim'd against, as sent over to promote Popery and *French* Councils: Till now we were unacquainted with the Advantages the Nation might reap by Royal Concubines.

But after all, we cannot but admire the exquisite Arts, and that unwearied Diligence with which the Faction ever pursue their Designs, such as the Friends of the Establishment never shew upon any Occasion; *but the Children of this World*, we learn from Truth itself, *are wiser in their Generation than the Children of Light*. Here we see the Party first expressing the greatest Tenderness and Concern for the King's Person, and insinuating, that his Brother was in a Conspiracy to destroy him; then they raise their Mobs, make their rebellious Processions, and spirit up the deluded People against their Sovereign, by their treasonable Libels and Discourses: When this won't prevail, they not only refuse to grant his Majesty Money for the necessary Defence of the Kingdom, but they declare every Man an Enemy to his Country that lends the King any Money, and arbitrarily and illegally imprison his Friends; and as their last Refuge, apply themselves to his Mistress, that he might have no rest Day or Night, till their Importunity was satisfied. But here his Majesty shew'd a superior Reach, and by advising the Lady seemingly to comply with them,
discover'd

discover'd all that black Scene of Treachery and Rebellion they had laid to accomplish his Ruin. I am confirm'd in the Belief, that this was the whole Drift of the Duchess of *Portsmouth's* appearing for the Exclusion, not only because, as our Author observes, there appeared so good an Understanding between her and the Duke of *York* afterwards, but because, if the Managers of the House of Commons had been acquainted with the King's consenting to the Exclusion, on Condition of the Duchess's receiving six hundred thousand Pounds, we should long ago have heard of it from other Hands.

ABRIDGMENT.

Our Author next proceeds to give us an Abstract of the Trial of the Lord *Stafford*: He was the younger Son of the old Earl of *Arundel*, and Uncle to the present Duke of *Norfolk*: He thought the King had not rewarded his former Services, our Author tells us, and so often voted against the Court, and always made great Applications to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*: He surrendred himself the Day after *Oates* charg'd him with being in the Conspiracy; which was thought a Sign of his Innocence. *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore that he had a Patent to be Paymaster General to the Army; and *Dugdale* swore that he offer'd him five hundred Pounds to kill the King. One *Turberville* also swore, that in the Year 75, the Lord *Stafford* endeavour'd to persuade him to kill the King, when he was at *Paris*; but when *Turberville* came to *England* he never waited upon the Lord *Stafford*, nor did the Lord *Stafford* ever enquire after him. *Turberville* was afterwards converted from Popery, by Dr. *Lloyd*, and was supported by him for some Months, when the Doctor press'd him to
recollect

recollect what he had heard among the Papists, relating to Plots against the King or Nation: he said, as other Papists did, that they hop'd in a little time to have their Religion introduced again, but some of them said a great deal of Blood must be spilt first; but he protested he knew no Particulars. *Lloyd* therefore was in great Difficulties, our Author says, when *Stafford's* Trial came on, being in doubt whether he ought not to testify his Knowledge of what *Turberville* had said, viz. *That he knew nothing of any Particulars of the Plot.* Dr. *Lloyd's* Friends advis'd him to be quiet, and say nothing at all of the matter, our Author says, for fear it should be taken ill, and People should think he was inclin'd to Popery.

At his Trial *Smith*, an *Irish* Priest, first gave Evidence of the Plot in general, as did the other Witnesses: To which *Stafford* said little, as not being much concern'd in it; only declar'd he was against the Pope's Power of deposing Princes; and that there was this Difference between the Powder-Plot and the present, that in the former all the chief Conspirators confess'd the Facts at their Deaths, but now all dy'd with the solemnest Protestations of their Innocence. On the second Day, when the Evidence was produc'd against himself, he observ'd that *Oates* had sworn, he went amongst the Jesuits on purpose to betray them; and that he had been several Years taking Oaths, and receiving Sacraments, in so treacherous a manner, by his own Confession, that no Credit could be given to him. He produc'd Witnesses also to shew, that *Dugdale* was a Man of very ill Reputation; and one depos'd, that he had been practising upon him to swear as he should direct him. And the Lord *Stafford's* Servant swore, that *Dugdale* was never in his Master's Chamber but once, while he was at my Lord *Aston's*. The Mi-

nister of the Parish, and another Gentleman, to whom *Dugdale* had sworn that he had told the Story of the killing a Justice of Peace at *Westminster*, depos'd that they heard nothing of it. And as *Turberville* had sworn that the Lord *Stafford* had a Fit of the Gout, when he mentioned the killing the King to him, his Servants depos'd, that they never knew him have a Fit of the Gout in their Lives: He also prov'd, by several Witnesses, that both *Dugdale* and *Turberville* often said they knew nothing of any Plot; and that *Turberville* had lately said, he would set up for a Witness, for none liv'd so well as Witnesses. And the Lord *Stafford* made it out unanswerably, that he was not at my Lord *Aston's* on one of the Days that *Dugdale* had sworn he was.

On the fourth Day, Proofs were brought to support the Credit of the King's Witnesses; and it was made out, our Author says, that *Dugdale* had long serv'd the Lord *Aston* with great Reputation; and that he had publish'd the News of *Godfrey's* Death, tho' the two Gentlemen he had told it to did not mind him. Proofs were brought that *Dugdale* was often in the Lord *Stafford's* Company, and that he burnt many Papers upon the breaking out of the Plot. And it was prov'd that the Lord *Stafford* was often lame; which *Turberville* might take for the Gout. But nothing could be said, sufficient to support *Oates's* Evidence.

After the Trial, our Author says he attended the Lord *Stafford* in the *Tower*, and that he made very solemn Protestations of his Innocence: He had a mind to live, if it was possible, but said he could discover nothing with relation to the King's Life; and protested that there was not so much as any Intimation concerning it ever pass'd among them. The Lord *Essex*, Lord *Russel*, and Sir *William Jones*, sent to the Lord *Stafford* by our Author, that if he would

would discover all he knew of the Papists Designs, and more particularly what he knew concerning the Duke, they would not insist on his confessing the Particulars for which he was condemn'd. Upon promising he would discover all he knew, he was brought before the House of Lords; where he gave a long Relation of the Consultations of the Papists after the Restoration, wherein they agreed, that their Religion could not be better brought in, than by procuring a Toleration; but upon naming the Earl of *Shaftsbury* among those who had undertaken to procure a Toleration, the Lords would hear no more, but order'd him to withdraw. And being sent back to the *Tower*, he prepar'd himself to suffer; which he did, with a constant undisturb'd Mind. He supp'd and slept well the Night before his Execution, and dy'd without any Shew of Fear or Disorder, denying all that the Witnesses had sworn against him.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* rail'd at our Author, he says, as being in a Design to blast his Character, by means of the Lord *Stafford*; and the Duke thought our Author had persuaded the Lord *Stafford* to accuse him; which was the beginning of that implacable Hatred he afterwards express'd against him. And thus our Author became suspected by both Parties.

R E M A R K S.

The Lord *Stafford* was brought to his Trial, before the Peers, on an Impeachment of the Commons, on the 30th of *November*, 1680. One *Smith* was first produc'd to give Evidence of the Plot in general; he had been a Priest, but was now turn'd Protestant, and depos'd, that he had liv'd in the *English* Jesuits College at *Rome* five Years; that the Je-

suits,

suits, in their Sermons and private Exhortations, maintain'd, that the King of *England* was a Heretick, and that whoever would take him out of the Way, would do a meritorious Action: That he understood at *Rome* there was a Plot going forward to murder the King, and when he came to *England* he observ'd there was the same Design here, and that it was *the common Discourse* all over the Country.

Dugdale depos'd, that for fifteen or sixteen Years past, there had been a Design to introduce Popery by Force of Arms, upon the King's Death; but he heard nothing, till of late, of killing the King: That he had been at several Consultations for taking off the King, and there had been a general Collection of Money for carrying on the Design, and he had receiv'd five hundred Pounds at once, and paid it to Mr. *Ewers*, for Arms receiv'd from beyond Sea; That the Lord *Aston*, and Sir *James Symonds*, were order'd to dispose of Arms which came from beyond Sea, to the Value of thirty thousand Pounds: And he had heard that the *French King* would furnish a Body of Troops, and other Necessaries: That the Letters from the Jesuits went through the Deponent's Hands for two Years, and that he receiv'd one from them the 14th of *October*, 1678, dated the 12th of *October*, which said *this Night Godfrey is dispatch'd*; and the Reason he was taken off, *Ewers* told him, was because *Coleman* sent the Duke word he had discover'd the whole Plot to him: That the Deponent himself contributed four hundred Pounds towards the Plot, and promis'd one hundred more: That the Lord *Stafford* was present at Consults where the introducing Popery, the buying Arms, and the King's Death, were under Consideration; and there was an Indulgence publish'd in the Year 78, that whoever should be active in these

these Designs, should have a Pardon of all their Sins; and that when the King was kill'd, Arms were to be provided for certain Persons, who were to rise at an Hour's Warning, and cut the Protestants Throats, and if any escap'd, there should be an Army to destroy them: That *Whitebread* wrote to *Ewers* to provide some stout Fellows to kill the King, in a Letter by the Common Post, without any Cypher.

Oates depos'd, that he was reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome* on *Asb-Wednesday*, 1676, and was admitted a Novice of the *Jesuits* Order: That in *April*, 77, he was sent to *Spain*, where the King's Death was talk'd of, for that he was an Enemy both to God and Man. In *November* the Deponent was order'd for *England*, where he understood *Grove* had been disappointed in his Design of killing the King, but had great Hopes of effecting it the next Year. That in *December*, 77, the Deponent was sent to *St. Omers*, where they had an Account of an Attempt that *Pickering* had made against the King's Life, which fail'd, by the Flint of his Pistol's being loose. He gave an Account also of the Consult at the *White-horse*, in *April*, and of *Sir George Wakeman's* being employ'd to poison the King, and of the *Papists* being concern'd in the Fire of *London*, and the Duke of *York's* releasing the Incendiaries that were taken.

Jennison depos'd, that *Ireland* would have employ'd him to murder the King; and that the Deponent recommended four stout *Irishmen* to him, whose Names *Ireland* took down, in *August*, 78.

Dugdale depos'd further, that the latter End of *August*, or the Beginning of *September*, 78, he was admitted to a Consultation at the Lord *Ashton's* House, where my Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Ashton*, and several other Gentlemen, came to a Resolution, upon the

the Intelligence they had receiv'd from beyond Sea, that the best and speediest Way to introduce their Religion, was to kill the King; to which Resolution the Lord *Stafford* consented: That in *September* the Lord *Stafford* sent for the Deponent into his Chamber, and promis'd him five hundred Pounds if he would be concern'd in murdering the King; he said the Services of his Family had not been rewarded, which was Reason sufficient for his Enmity to the King, if there was nothing of Religion in the Case. And *Dugdale* said he remember'd particularly, that the Day the Lord *Stafford* offer'd him the five hundred Pounds, was the 20th or 21st of *September*, 78.

Oates depos'd, that in *June*, 78, the Lord *Stafford* receiv'd a Commission to be Paymaster General of the Army to be rais'd, at *Fenwick's* Chamber in *Drury Lane*.

Turberville depos'd, that in the Year 75, his Brother, a *Benedictine* Monk, recommended him to the Lord *Stafford* at *Paris*; and that his Lordship propos'd to him his being concern'd in the Murder of the King, who, he said, was a Heretick, and a Rebel to God Almighty; and order'd the Deponent to go to *Diep*, and told him he should go with him to *England*; but his Lordship wrote the Deponent word at *Diep*, he should go to *England* by way of *Calais*, and order'd him to wait on his Lordship at *London*; but he never went near my Lord *Stafford*, not being willing to be concern'd in the Matter: That it was at his Lordship's House in *Paris*, that my Lord propos'd the killing the King; and the Deponent was at his House several times, within the Space of a Fortnight; the House was at the Corner of a Street which fac'd *Luxemburgh-house*, and the Prince of *Conde* lodg'd in the same Street: Which the Lord *Stafford* observ'd was not true; and demanded

manded of him what kind of a Room his Chamber was, where he came to him? which *Turberville* said he could not remember. And being ask'd how he came not to discover this sooner, said he was afraid of having his Brains beat out; but on the King's Proclamation, and the Persuasion of some of his Friends that he might do it safely, he made this Discovery.

His Lordship, in his Defence, said, if some Doctors at *Rome* held the Doctrine of King-killing, he knew the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and several other considerable Members of that Church had condemn'd it, as he did for his Part; and that he had taken the Oath of Allegiance, with which, he thought, no Power on Earth could dispense: He said his Life had given no Countenance to the Accusation of these perjur'd Villains who swore against him; that Offers of Pardon had been made him, by several Peers, and Members of the Privy Council, to make a Discovery; but upon the strictest Search he could not imagine there was any Foundation for the Charge against him; and that after the Discovery of the Plot he had time enough to make his Escape, if he had been guilty.

The Lord *Stafford* demanding what Provision of Arms was made for this Design? *Dugdale* said he heard there were thirty thousand Arms provided beyond Sea, and he understood they should have at least two hundred thousand Men to assist them: Which the Lord *Stafford* observ'd was very strange, when there was hardly twenty thousand *Roman* Catholics in *England* fit to bear Arms.

The Lord *Stafford* produc'd several Witnesses to prove that *Dugdale* swore his Lordship was at a Consult at *Tixhall*, in *August*, 78; and he prov'd also that he was at the *Bath*, or at the Lord *Worcester's*, at *Badmington*, in *August*, 78, and continued there till the 2d of *September*.

*

Thomas

Thomas Sawyer depos'd, that *Dugdale* went away from my Lord *Aston*'s for Debt, about the latter End of *November*, or the Beginning of *December*, 78; and being taken up by the Watch, he desir'd the Parson of the Town to prevail with the Lord *Aston* to own him for his Servant, for he would be undone if he went to Jail; but the Lord *Aston* would not own him: Which the Deponent acquainting *Dugdale* with, he swore he would be reveng'd of the Lord *Aston*. And this was two or three Days before he became an Evidence.

The Minister of *Tixhall* also depos'd, that he went to desire the Lord *Aston* to own *Dugdale* for his Servant; which might have prevented his going to Jail: But his Lordship answer'd, he would have nothing to do with him.

Sir *Walter Baggot* also, one of the Justices before whom *Dugdale* was brought by the Watch, depos'd, that he waited on the Lord *Aston*, to know if *Dugdale* were his Servant, but he would not own him. Whereupon he took *Dugdale* to *Stafford*, where there was a Meeting of Justices of Peace; and they tendered him the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which he took; and examining him if he knew any thing of the Plot, he deny'd his Knowledge of it.

Mr. *Kinnersley* also, the other Justice of Peace, depos'd, that *Dugdale* took the Oaths, and deny'd he knew any thing of the Plot.

Sir *Thomas Whitegrave*, another Justice of Peace, depos'd to the same Effect.

And the Minister of *Tixhall* further depos'd, that whereas *Dugdale* had sworn he receiv'd a Letter concerning the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, dated the 12th, and that he communicated that Letter to Mr. *Sambridge* and the Deponent the *Tuesday* after, the Deponent averr'd that he never heard of the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, either from

Dugdale or any other, till it was publickly known.

The Lord *Stafford* observ'd, that if the Lord *Aston* had been conscious that *Dugdale* was engag'd in a Plot with him, he durst not have disoblig'd him in the manner the Witnesses had depos'd.

Robinson and *Murrel* depos'd, that *Dugdale* would have suborn'd them to have been Evidence against several Gentlemen concern'd in the Plot; and particularly against the Lord *Stafford*.

Robinson, and one *Holt* a Blacksmith, depos'd, that *Dugdale* would have suborn'd them to swear that one *Moor* carried away *Ewers* the Priest.

Mr. *Sambridge* also depos'd, that *Dugdale* never communicated to him any Account of *Godfrey's* Death, on the *Tuesday* after he was missing; that he never heard of it till the *Friday* or *Saturday* afterwards; and that *Dugdale* was one of the wickedest Fellows that ever liv'd. And it being demanded of Mr. *Sambridge* what Religion he was of, he declar'd he never was a Papist or a Fanatick.

The Lord *Stafford* call'd a Servant, who depos'd, that he never saw *Turberville* at my Lord's House in *Paris*; nor was his Lord ever lame, as he remembred, all the time he was there, or ever since he was with him, and he had been with his Lord seven Years; particularly he attended him all the while he was in *France*. But *Turberville* still persisted that the Lord *Stafford* was lame, and that he told him it was the Gout.

Wiborn depos'd, that the Lord *Stafford* came over to *England* by *Diep*, in *January* 75, and not by *Calais*, as *Turberville* had depos'd.

The Lord *Stafford* produc'd several Witnesses, who swore, that *Turberville* had solemnly protested he knew nothing of the Plot; and demanded of *Oates*, whether, he being a Minister of the Church of *England*, did really turn Papist, or did but pretend

tend to turn; to which *Oates* answer'd, *he did only pretend, and was not really one.*

The Lord *Stafford* desired that *Oates* might produce some of the Letters he said he had receiv'd of his L^{or}ship's, or any Notes or Abstracts he had taken out of them; but *Oates* said, he had kept none of the Letters, nor taken any Notes out of them, for that might have endangered his Life.

The Lord *Stafford* insisted, that *Oates* was not a credible Witness, having profess'd his Hypocrisy and Dissimulation with God and Man; and he demanded of *Dugdale*, if he was not a Prisoner for Debt when he made the first Discovery: *Dugdale* acknowledged he was then in the Sergeant's Hands: The Lord *Stafford* said, he could also prove, that *Oates* was so poor, that he begg'd for six Pence. *Oates* reply'd, he had not had two Pence since he made the Discovery; whereupon my Lord *Stafford* observ'd, that he had sworn at another Trial, that he had been seven hundred Pounds out of Pocket. *Oates* said upon this, that a noble Peer had presented him with an hundred Pounds, and he had sold his Narrative for one hundred Pounds, and had a hundred Pounds for taking of Jesuits, and fifty Pound more for other Copies; all which and more he had spent in the Service.

The Managers for the Commons then call'd Witnesses to support the Credit of their first Witnesses; and they produc'd one *Ansel*, who swore, he had seen *Dugdale* in the Lord *Aston's* Parlour with the Lord *Stafford*, about two Years ago; and they produc'd another, who swore, that he saw *Dugdale* with one they call'd the Lord *Stafford* in the Court at *Tixhall*: And *Ansel* depos'd farther, that *Dugdale* told him of the Death of a Justice of Peace in *London*, on *Monday* the 14th of *October*, 78. Another also depos'd, that he heard him say the same; and

Mr. *Birch* depos'd, that on *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* after *Godfrey* was kill'd, it was commonly reported in *Staffordshire*, that a Justice of Peace of *Middlesex* was kill'd, and 'twas thought by the Papists, but could not name any one he heard it of.

Mr. *Turton* a Justice of Peace, also depos'd, that either on *Tuesday* the 15th, or *Friday* the 18th of *October*, one Mr. *Whitehall* a Justice of Peace of *Staffordshire*, ask'd him, if he had heard that *Godfrey* was murder'd, and told him it was a common Report.

Then the Managers call'd one Mr. *Booth*, a Member of the Commons, who depos'd, that *Robinson*, a Witness of the Prisoner's, who said he was suborn'd by *Dugdale*, was a common Cheat; to which the Lord *Stafford* reply'd, that *Dugdale* might think it the more probable to work upon such a Man. They brought other Witnesses to swear, that *Holt* and *Murrel* who testified their being suborn'd by *Dugdale*, were poor needy Fellows; and they produc'd other Witnesses, who depos'd, they were practis'd with to destroy *Dugdale*'s Credit. They produc'd Witnesses also, who swore, that *Dugdale* liv'd in good Credit at the Lord *Aston*'s, and transacted most of his Affairs. They brought Witnesses also to shew, that *Turberville* was at *Paris* when the Lord *Stafford* was there, and that he waited at *Diep*, as *Turberville* said, for his Lordship's going to *England*. They produced other Witnesses to support *Turberville*'s Character, and to shew, that the Lord *Stafford* had been lame several Times within these seven Years; to which the Lord *Stafford* answer'd, he was lame no otherways than through Age and Weariness; and particularly, that he was not lame at *Paris*, as the Witness had depos'd.

The Lord *Stafford* afterwards produc'd Witnesses to shew, that several of the Witnesses who came

to discredit his, were active Men in the late rebellious Times, and disaffected to the Government.

The Reader no doubt has taken Notice of that Passage, *p.* 437, where our Author says, he waited on the King at *Chiffiuck's*, a Page of the Back-Stairs; and the King told him, he suspected some had set *Oates* on, and instructed him, and would have inform'd himself of some Particulars relating to the Plot, but our Author would enter into no Particulars, nor name any Body, at which the King was disgusted.

Our Author according to his usual Vanity, it is observable, has upon that Occasion patch'd up a Story foreign to the Purpose he was sent for; and boasts of the Freedoms he took in advising the King, as to his own and his Brother's Religion, and his Majesty's Course of Life, &c. Indeed, when I read this Account our Author had given of this Conference, before I met with any other Hints than what I collected from that ill Agreement, one part of the Relation had to another, I concluded a great part of it was a Fiction; and that although his Majesty might send for our Author, knowing how much he convers'd with the Whig Leaders, to endeavour to discover what they aim'd at, he would hardly enter into any great Freedoms with one, he had so much Reason to suspect wou'd betray what he said: But happening to turn over Mr. *Echard*, Page 949. I found a more probable Account of this Matter; and though he has not thought fit to name Dr. *Burnet*, none who reads the Story will much doubt that he was the Divine whom the King is there said to send for; and I chose to recite the Passage in this Place, because it will give the Reader some Notion of the first Plot Discoverers.

Titus Oates being by the Parliament esteem'd the principal Discoverer of the Plot, while he was in the height of his Reputation, and all Persons astonish'd at the Horror of the Thing, about twenty eminent rich Citizens, entire Believers of the whole, met at a great Supper in the City, to which they invited *Dr. Tongue*, *Mr. Oates*, and another noted Divine, who had been often favoured with the King's private Conversation. These three were handsomely entertained, and particularly caressed by the rest of the Company; but their highest and distinguishing Compliments were paid to *Mr. Oates*, and with such a seeming Derogation to the Honour of *Dr. Tongue*, who valued himself and his Abilities as much as any Man, that there arose a verbal Quarrel between these two Confederates, which came to that height that the Doctor plainly told *Oates*, that *he knew nothing of the Plot, but what he learnt from him*. These dangerous Words disturb'd and confounded the whole Company, and had such an Effect upon one of them, who was thought to be a Spy, that the very next Morning he went to the King, and told him the whole Passage and Transaction, upon which his Majesty immediately sent for the forementioned Divine, in whom he had a good Confidence, and opening the Matter to him, he let him know, that he expected to hear the Particulars from him: But he made some Excuses, and particularly alledg'd the badness of his Memory; at which the King said in his Passion, if you are good for any Thing, it is for your Memory; and then let him know, that he had heard sufficient of the Matter already, but expected it all from him: But still he pretended not to remember it, or else gave so imperfect an Account of it, that the King incens'd at last, spoke to this Effect to him: *I find there is like to be a great deal of Blood shed about this Plot; and the Times are*
so

so troublesome and dangerous to me, that I durst not venture to pardon any that are condemned, therefore their Blood be upon your Head, and not upon mine; and I desire to see you no more: and so he finally dismiss'd him his Presence.

Our Author having pass'd over the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Practices with the Witnesses, especially those who were brought to prove the Murder of *Godfrey*, on which the greatest Strefs was laid, as being an undeniable Evidence of the Plot, I shall here give a short Account of them, from whence the Reader will be able to judge, whether by the same Arts the Lives of the most innocent Men in the World might not have been taken away.

William Bromel and *John Waters*, who first discover'd the Body of *Godfrey*, were both brought before the Lords Committees at *Wallingford-House*, where after they had been examined, one of them was committed to *Newgate*, and the other to the *Gatehouse*; they were fetter'd and hand-cuff'd, and *Bromel* was kept in the Dungeon three Days and Nights together. Sometime after they were sent for and examined again; and after *Shaftsbury* found he could not work upon *Bromel*, neither by Threats nor Promises, he was remanded to *Newgate*, and kept there nine Weeks a Prisoner, without being suffer'd to see any Body but his Wife, who got leave to visit him twice.

One *Corral* a Hackney-Coachman, who was charged with carrying the Body of *Godfrey* to *Primrose-Hill*, being examin'd before the Committee, was told, he should have the five hundred Pounds Reward, if he would make such a Discovery as was intimated to him, but upon his professing he knew nothing of the Matter, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* threaten'd him that he should be hang'd, and order'd him to be put into the Dungeon in *Newgate*, where he was almost

almost stifled with the Closeness and Nastiness of the Place; Then *Shaftsbury* sent for him again, and the Fellow persisting that he knew nothing of the Matter, his Lordship order'd the Keeper to take him away, and starve him to Death; and he was carried back to *Newgate*, and kept in Irons in the Condemn'd Hole, from *Thursday* Evening till *Sunday* Noon, without any Thing to eat or drink: Then he was brought to the Committee again, and told, he should have the Reward of five hundred Pounds if he would confess, and be secur'd from all Danger; whereupon the Fellow fell down upon his Knees, and said, *I know nothing of it, and before I'll wrong any Man, i'll dye immediately*: Then the Lord *Shaftsbury* told him, he should go back to *Newgate*, and rot there. The poor Man represented he had a Wife and Children; the Lord *Shaftsbury* answered, let his Wife and Children starve, and the poor Coachman was kept in the Condemn'd Hole with heavy Irons, six Weeks and three Days; and afterwards, seven Weeks on the Common Side upon Boards, without Irons; at length, when another swore that Sir *Edmund's* Body was carried away on Horseback, upon good Security the Man was discharg'd; but his Legs were so gall'd and eaten up with the Irons, that he was not able to drive a Coach till eight Weeks after he had his Liberty.

Prance, the principal Evidence of the Murder was a Goldsmith, and us'd to work in the Queen's Chapel in *Somerset-house*: He happen'd at this Time to have a Lodger, one *John Wren*, who was fourteen Months Rent in Arrear, and being press'd by his Landlord for Money, was observ'd to use some threatening Words, and a Tankard being lost a little after, gave Occasion for a farther Quarrel. Upon the twentieth of *December* *Prance* had his Rent paid him,

him, but was taken up next Day by Warrant from the Council, upon the Information of *Wren*, and some others, who pretended to suspect he was privy to *Godfrey's* Murder; and his Dealings with *Grove* his Brother, who was a Priest, and with *Pickering* and *Ireland*, who had been at his House, gave a Colour to the Report; and *Wren* put in his Claim for a Share of the five hundred Pounds upon this Discovery.

Prance was carried away in Custody into a little Room within the Lobby of the House of Commons, into which several went out of Curiosity, and amongst the rest the Discoverer *Bedlow*, who staring about him, enquir'd privately which was the Prisoner, and finding the Man, he immediately retir'd. After some Hours waiting, they carried *Prance* to an Eating-house, called *Heaven*, and into a Room, where *Bedlow* was purposely planted, by Sir *William Waller* and others, when of a sudden he started up, and with a curs'd Oath, cry'd out, *this is one of the Rogues that I saw with a dark Lanthorn about the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, but he was then in a Perrinwig.*

Prance coming before the Lords, *Bedlow* directly charg'd him with the Murder, and *Wren* with his being out of the House while the Body was missing; and being examined upon Oath, he positively denied all, and wish'd Damnation to himself if he knew any thing of the Murder, or if he ever saw *Bedlow*.

After his Examination, which gave no Satisfaction, he was sent to *Newgate*, and put into the Condemn'd Hole, loaden with heavy Irons, and for that Night was left to consider what further Answers to make, and whether he would venture his Soul or his Body, says Mr. *Echard*.

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The next Morning early, being *Sunday*, there came a Person to him wholly unknown, who laid down a Paper upon a Form just by him, and so retir'd; and soon after another came with a Candle, who set it down and left him: By that Light he read the Paper, wherein he found the Substance of these following Minutes. So many Popish Lords mention'd by Name——Fifty thousand Men to be rais'd——Commissions given out——Officers appointed——*Ireland* acquainted with the Design——*Bedlow's* Evidence as to the Murder was summ'd up, and abstracted in it——And there were Suggestions in it, that he must undoubtedly be privy to the Plot, with Words to this Effect, *you had better confess than be hang'd.*

These were the Particulars of *Bedlow's* Depositions; and as *Bedlow* was to second *Oates* in his Evidence of the Plot, so *Prance* was to second *Bedlow* in the Evidence of the Murder. *Prance* having consider'd his Circumstances, and being almost dead with Cold, and the Nauseousness of the Place, and gall'd with the weight of his Irons, desir'd to be carried to the Lord *Shafisbury*, where he was under Examination, from five to eleven at Night, and threaten'd with certain Death, if he did not confess the Particulars contain'd in the Paper that was brought him; whereupon *Prance* was so terrified, that he pretended to make a Discovery of part, promising to be larger when he had obtain'd his Pardon; whereupon a Paper being drawn up and sign'd by the Prisoner, he was remanded to *Newgate*, and a Committee from the Lords, and another from the Commons having examined *Prance* in *Newgate* on the 23d of *December*, he was brought before the Council the next Day, where he charg'd Father *Gerald* and Father *Kelly*, two *Irish* Priests, *Robert Green*, Cushion Man to the *Queen's Chapel*, *Lawrence*

rence Hill, Servant to Dr. Godding Treasurer of the Chapel, and Henry Berry, Porter of *Somerset-House*, with the Murder of *Godfrey*. The King afterwards appointed the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Offory*, and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain to go with *Prance* to *Somerset-house* to see the Rooms, where he pretended *Godfrey's* Body was laid; and *Prance* went to some of the Rooms very readily, but was at such a Loss as to the principal Room, and some other Particulars, that when the Duke of *Monmouth* ask'd the Earl of *Offory* what he thought of it, he answer'd, it was all a Cheat: However, *Prance* being brought before the Council again, and confronted with *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, still maintain'd the Charge against them, and they as positively denied every Syllable of it; after which *Prance* was remanded to *Newgate*, where he lay with his Irons, sometimes on and sometimes off, according as he was in a discovering Humour, and was threaten'd by the Members of both Houses, to make him come up to *Bedlow's* Evidence: However, desiring to be brought before the King, he did first before his Majesty declare, that the Men he had swore against were all innocent, and what he had sworn was false: Upon which the King said to him, is it so upon your Salvation; and he reply'd, upon my Salvation the whole Accusation is false; and being immediately carried before the Council, he fell upon his Knees, and made the same Declaration there, and that he never saw *Bedlow* before he was taken up: That he knew nothing of the Plot or the Murder, and could not rest for the Story he had told; whereupon some of the Council threaten'd him with the Rack. The next Day he was brought before the Council again, and persisted in his Innocence, declaring, that he had no other Hints to frame the Story he had told them, than the abovesaid Paper of Instructions,

which

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which was laid by him in the Condemn'd Hole in *Newgate*; and except just after his Return, he stood firm and immovable in his Denial against all Terrors and Temptations, from the twenty ninth of *December*, to the eleventh of *January*, whereupon he was loaden with Irons, and thrown again into a cold nasty Place, where he lay in such Torments, that he spent his Time in roaring and groaning, and frequently cry'd out, *Not guilty, not guilty; No Murder, no Murder*; and when People were scandaliz'd at the Inhumanity of this Treatment, the Managers gave out, that he was mad. The Keepers, Mr. *Echard* says, were under the Direction of an ambulatory Committee, who order'd them when, and in what Degree, to squeeze, to pinch, to ease or shackle, to comfort or torment their Prisoners; and *Prance* being unable to hold out, as poor *Corral* had done, and finding his Life in Danger, promis'd to become an Evidence again, whereupon his Irons were knock'd off, and he was remov'd from the cold dismal Place he was in, to a good Lodging, and Variety of the best Meat and Drink provided for him, and was allow'd Pen, Ink, and Paper, and the Assistance of a Friend to finish his Narrative. See *Echard's History of England*, p. 960, 961, 962. where the Reader will find those Practices related more at large, with many other Circumstances, which are here omitted.

Let any Person reflect on the Tortures and Threatnings that were us'd on one Hand, and the large Rewards promis'd on the other, to procure Witnesses of the Plot and Murder; these alone will be sufficient to render the Plot suspected: But when we observe farther, the Promises of Life made to so many condemn'd Men, if they would confess the Plot, who every Man of them refus'd the Offer, and chose to die rather than become false Witnesses:
When

When we see Men, to whose Lives no Objection could be made but their Religion, seriously and solemnly denying every Tittle of the Charge, in their last Moments; can the Oaths of the most profligate Villains, who acknowledg'd the changing their Religion, receiving Sacraments, and taking Oaths of Secrecy, to be with an Intention to betray the Persons they were engaged with, and that for Years together, be of any Weight?

Indeed, our Author himself seems ready enough to give up *Oates* and *Bedlow*, as Men whose Credit cou'd not be rely'd on: And tho' for a time he is willing to allow *Dugdale* and *Turberville* to be unexceptionable Witnesses, yet we find, when they come to testify against *Colledge*, he makes them full as vile as the other, and to deserve as little Credit as either *Oates* or *Bedlow*; for he tells us, *p.* 505. that it being objected to *Dugdale's* Credit, in *Colledge's* Trial, that when by his Leudness he had got the *French* Pox, he, to cover that, gave it out, that he was poison'd by Papists; *Dugdale* protested solemnly in Court, that if he ever had it, he was content that all the Evidence he had ever given should be discredited for ever. *Lower*, who was then the most celebrated Physician in *London*, prov'd, at the Council-board, that he had been under Cure in his Hands for that Disease; which was made out both by his Bills, and by the Apothecary that serv'd them.

Page 509, our Author says, And now *Dugdale* and *Turberville*, who had been the Witnesses upon whose Evidence Lord *Stafford* was condemn'd, being within a Year detected, or at least suspected of this Villany, I could not but reflect on what he had said to me, that he was confident I should see within a Year that the Witnesses would be found to be Rogues.

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It is further observable, that every one of the Witnesses of the Popish Plot improv'd daily in their Evidence; and from some slight Knowledge of it, which they pretended to at first, became positive Witnesses against Persons they had never seen before; and of Facts, which they had solemnly protested, upon their Oaths, they were Strangers to.

We find also, upon the great Encouragement and Caresses the first Witnesses met with, others sprung up in all Parts of the Kingdom, pretending to make Discoveries of Plots; many of whom were so plainly detected, that they could obtain no Credit, even in those believing Times.

It was pretended also, that this Design of murdering the King, had been on foot for many Years, and was become the common Talk, not only all over *England*, but almost in every Kingdom in *Europe*, and every Popish Prince was said to be concern'd in it; great Forces were agreed to be rais'd, and great Quantities of Arms said to be provided, and Commissions issued out, and yet nothing of all this appear'd: Which is incredible, if there was any Truth in the Evidence given of these mighty Preparations.

'Tis observable also, that *Oates*, in his first Discoveries, makes the Pope claim the *British* Dominions as his Right, and that the Duke was to be murder'd as well as the King; and yet afterwards, when he came under *Shaftsbury's* Management, he makes the Duke the principal Conspirator, and makes this a Handle for introducing the Bill of Exclusion; representing, that the Nation could never be safe, while there was the Prospect of a Popish Successor.

Let any impartial Man consider these Circumstances, with those other Objections the Prisoners made in their Defence, and he will be easily convinc'd, that all that Part of the Plot relating to the

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Assassination of the King, was entirely a Fiction. That the *Roman* Catholicks had a Design then, and ever since the Reformation, to have introduc'd their Religion; and that they had more than ordinary Hopes of effecting it, on the Duke of *York's* coming to the Crown, is not to be doubted: But for any thing farther, there does not seem the least Foundation. And this will farther appear, when we see *Oates* convicted of Perjury, by above forty Witnesses, among whom there were several Protestants of Reputation, who cou'd have no manner of Inducement to give that Evidence, if it had not been true.

A B R I D G M E N T.

The King finding the Commons bent upon the Exclusion, first prorogu'd them, and then dissolv'd them, in *January*, 1680; and apprehending that the Neighbourhood of *London* might have some Influence on the Parliament, summon'd the next to meet at *Oxford*: The same Persons were generally elected as serv'd in the last Parliament; and many Places gave Instructions to their Members to be steady for the Bill of Exclusion.

Several Printers being indicted about this time for scandalous Libels, the Juries, who were return'd by the Whig Sheriffs, would not find the Bills against them, upon Pretence that the Printers had no malicious Design in the printing them.

At the opening the Parliament at *Oxford*, the King acquainted the Houses, that he was resolv'd to maintain the Succession of the Crown in the right Line, but was willing to put the Administration of the Government into Protestant Hands, and that there should be a Prince Regent, in whom the executive Power should be lodg'd during the Duke's Life.

This, our Author says, was a Project of his own, which he communicated to *Littleton*; and he was told that the King himself approv'd of it; but the Commons rejected the Proposition, and would accept of nothing less than the Exclusion, to the great Joy of the Duke and his Party, who declared themselves more against this than the Exclusion itself.

Here our Author gives us an Account of the taking up *Fitzharris*, for a malicious and treasonable Libel against the King and the Royal Family; who, to bring himself off when he was in Custody, pretended to make further Discoveries of the Plot: This Man the Commons resolv'd to have the Management of; and therefore, in order to take him out of the Hands of the Courts of Justice, they carry'd up an Impeachment against him; but it was rejected by the Lords, upon Pretence that a Commoner ought not to be try'd before that House: Which our Author observes is true enough, where the Prosecution is at the King's Suit; but is no Objection in case of an Impeachment: Whereupon the Commons voted, that Justice was deny'd them; and that whoever should be concern'd in the Trial of *Fitzharris*, in any other Court, should be deem'd Betrayers of the Liberty of their Country. The King perceiving that nothing was to be expected from the Commons, came suddenly to the House of Lords, bringing the Crown between his Feet in a Sedan, sent for the Commons, without the least Notice, and dissolv'd the Parliament. He went away afterwards in such Haste to *Windsor*, that our Author says it look'd as if he was afraid of the Crouds that were assembled at *Oxford*.

The shedding so much Blood upon such doubtful Evidence of the Plot, our Author observes, was near proving fatal to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who drove

drove it on with the greatest Fury. The Nation who had so very lately shewn so much Zeal for the Exclusion, now, on the other hand, begun indecently to court and magnify the Duke, and even prefer him to the King himself; and our Author, who had always distrusted the Witnesses, and been dissatisfied with the Proceedings, came to be revil'd as an Incendiary, and Enemy to the Court and the Duke: Whereupon he thought fit to withdraw, and apply himself to the Study of Philosophy and Algebra: He had been much trusted, he says, on both Sides, and became hated and suspected by both; whereupon he withdrew from all Conversation, except the Lord *Effex* and *Russel's*.

Upon the Dissolution of the Parliament, the King issued a Declaration, shewing the undutiful Behaviour of the three last Parliaments; which was answer'd by *Sydney*, and some Additions were afterwards made to it by *Somers* and *Jones*: and tho' this was the best Paper that was writ in that time, it had no great Effect, our Author says, the Party having lost their Spirit; and Addresses came from all Parts of *England*, most of them condemning the Bill of Exclusion; and others arraigning the last Parliament, as guilty of Sedition. The Clergy went higher still, and express'd such Zeal for the Duke's Succession, our Author says, as if a Popish King had been a special Blessing to a Protestant Church; and now their Sermons were turn'd against the Dissenters, and Popery seem'd forgot: None were left, either on the Bench or in the Militia, who did not go into the Humour of the Court, we are told; and the Clergy, who would not engage in this Fury, were look'd upon as Betrayers of the Church: But there were not many of these, he says, for the Scent of Preferment, he observes, will draw aspiring Men after it.

Plunket, the Popish Archbishop of *Armagh*, was now brought to his Trial; some lewd Priests, and other *Irish* Evidence, our Author says, who found how good a Trade Swearing was in *England*, came over and gave Evidence of a Plot in *Ireland*, to bring over a *French* Army, and massacre all the *English* there. These Men were much cherish'd by *Shaftsbury*, tho' the Lord *Essex* told our Author that *Plunket* was a wise sober Man, chose a quiet Life, and to live in due Submission to the Government. A Bill of Indictment had been preferr'd against *Plunket* the Year before; but the Fore-man of the Jury, who was a zealous Protestant, told our Author the Witnesses contradicted one another so notoriously, that they could not find the Bill; but now they had laid their Story better together; and having nothing but *Plunket's* Denial to contend with, he was condemn'd and executed, professing his Innocence to the last.

Fitzharris had pleaded his Impeachment, to prevent his being try'd at Law, but finding that would not hold, he proceeded to charge the Lord *Danby* with *Godfrey's* Murder, upon what he had heard that Lord say at *Windsor*; but the Judge telling him that was not Evidence here, he swore he had heard him say the same at *White-hall*. However, the Jury found the Bill, and being reproach'd with it, said a dubious Evidence was sufficient for a Grand Jury: But the same sort of Men seem'd to be of another Mind in a few Months, he observes: *Fitzharris* being brought to his Trial, the Evidence was full against him, and he was convicted. He sent for our Author, and told him that the Lord *Howard* was the Author of the Libel: But he was satisfied he was not, it was so ill drawn. Lord *Howard* came to advise with our Author, when he was charg'd with it; and tho' he had no Liking to the Man's Temper,

Temper, he tells us, yet his Lordship so insinuated himself into him, that he could not avoid him without being rude; but he rail'd so indecently both at the King and the Clergy, that our Author was very uneasy in his Company; however, being imprison'd on this Occasion, he did him all the Service he could, as did *Algernon Sidney*, whom he serv'd very ungratefully afterwards.

Hawkins, the Minister of the *Tower*, prevailed upon *Fitzharris*, our Author says, to deny all his Discovery, and pretend he was suborn'd by *Clayton* and *Treby*, and the Sheriffs to make that Story; and *Hawkins*, procur'd him to sign a Paper to that Effect, which he confirm'd the Truth of at *Tyburn*, though the Falshood of it was very notorious, our Author says, he having written to his Wife, that he was practis'd upon with the Hopes of Life, which Letter our Author saw.

Dugdale, *Turberville*, and *Smith*, the late Witnesses of the Popish Plot, now became Evidence of a Protestant Plot, and depos'd, that *Colledge* the Joyner had been guilty of many treasonable Speeches. He had spoken indeed, our Author says, with great Indecency of the King, and a sort of threatening, if he would not pass the Bill of Exclusion; but as to any Design to seize the King's Person, as was sworn, this, our Author says, was such a notorious Falshood, that the Grand Jury would not find the Bill; whereupon it was said, that these Juries would believe every Thing on one side, and nothing on the other; but the Witnesses swearing he went down to *Oxford* with a Design to seize the King, he was carry'd thither, where he was try'd and condemn'd, and suffer'd with great Constancy, denying that he knew of any Plot against the King: And now the Court set the Witnesses to swear against all the hot Party, he says, which was

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plainly Murder in them, who believ'd them to be false Witnesses.

Shaftsbury was next prosecuted, and his Papers seiz'd, but nothing material found among them, but a Draught of an Association, which Somebody had left with him: Several Persons were practis'd upon to come in as Witnesses against him, in which the King was believ'd to be the chief Director.

Here, our Author tells us, he was offer'd Preferment again, and recommended to the King by the Lords *Halifax* and *Clarendon*, but he had Reason to believe his Majesty was displeas'd with him, for a Letter he had written to him a Year before, when he attended Mrs. *Roberts*, one of the King's Mistresses in her last Illness, setting before him his past Life, and the Judgments of God which lay upon him, and which he told him was but a small Part of the Punishment he was to expect, and reminding him of the Murder of his Father; whereupon the King had spoken of him with great Sharpness, he says. The Lord *Halifax*, when he introduc'd our Author to the King, said, he did not bring him to give the King a good Opinion of him, but to put the King in his good Opinion, and desir'd his Majesty not only to take him into his Favour, but into his Heart; the King said, if our Author pleas'd, he might serve him very considerably, and complain'd with great Scorn of the Imputation of Subornation, which was cast on himself; but said, he did not wonder that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was so guilty of those Practices, should fasten them on others; and his Majesty was so hearty and free, that our Author look'd upon himself now to be in Favour again, but he could not hold it, for it was taken amiss that he kept Company with the Lords *Essex* and *Russel*, and *Jones*, but he would not part with his Friends for any Consideration whatever, and so remain'd where he was before.

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The Lord *Shaftsbury* being indicted, the Jury brought in the Bill *Ignoramus*; whereupon Addreses of Abhorrence of the Association found in his Cabinet came from all Parts, with Complaints, that Justice was denied the King; and 'twas observ'd, that the Grand Juries refus'd now to find Bills upon dubious, and even positive Evidence, though formerly they could find them against Roman Catholics, upon the slenderest Evidence imaginable.

R E M A R K S.

As to *Fitzharris*, it may possibly remain a Doubt, who was the Author of the treasonable Libel reflecting on the King and Royal Family, which he was condemn'd for, and with what Design it was composed; but nothing seems more evident, than that he was practis'd upon in Prison by the Whig Sheriffs and others, to be an Evidence of the Popish Plot, and *Godfrey's* Murder, and particularly to charge the Earl of *Danby* with being concern'd in the Murder; all which he solemnly retracted under his Hand before he died, and attested the Falshood of his pretended Discoveries at the Gallows.

If the King had any real Grounds for his Fears when he retir'd in that haste from *Oxford*, this will be a very good Reason to believe, that *Colledge* and those Troops of Volunteers who came down arm'd to *Oxford*, under a Pretence of guarding the Parliament, were not altogether so innocent, as our Author represents them; and indeed, he seems to admit, that *Colledge* gave out threatening Speeches, that the Party would compel the King to submit to their Terms, which the Lawyers of his Acquaintance could have told him, was no less Treason than the conspiring to seize his Person; and there seems to be this Difference between the Whig Plots and the Popish Plots, that there was hardly a Whig
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that suffer'd, but confess'd himself guilty of what would amount to Treason, and upon Occasion wou'd justify and glory in it; whereas those who dy'd for the Popish Plot, express'd all the Duty and Submission imaginable to his Majesty, and solemnly declar'd their Innocence.

The Nation it seems grew sensible how ill his Majesty and the Duke had been us'd by the Faction, and began now to make some Satisfaction for their late undutiful Behaviour, which our Author expresses great Uneasiness at, being so far engag'd with the disaffected Leaders by his own relation, insomuch that no Offers of Preferment cou'd induce him to forsake them.

His Letter to the King must be allowed to be an Original. It contain'd so insolent a Charge, as surely never any Prince but King *Charles* wou'd have born, from one who was not his Confessor, and especially from a Man who had so little Pretence to use these Freedoms.

What Prince at this Time of Day would bare to have all his Failings represented, and the Judgments of God insolently denounc'd against him by a private Clergyman, and not make the officious Adviser feel his Resentment? and whatever our Author may on other Occasions have suggested to the contrary, yet his Majesty's repeated Indulgence and Lenity towards him, after such Provocations, discovers a most gracious and merciful Disposition in this Prince.

The Reader cannot but take Notice also, with what Contempt our Author speaks of the Lord *Howard* a little after: *He had no liking to the Man's Temper*, he says, *but he would insinuate himself into him*. What would any Nobleman think of a Parson that should speak of him in this manner, if he treated Mankind when he was alive, as he does in this

this posthumous Work? He would certainly never have been admitted to that Intimacy with so many great Men, as he would have us believe he was. But *Gilbert Burnet* has left us such Specimens of his Talent at Flattery, and how artfully he could fall in with the Times, and the Humours of his Patrons upon certain Occasions, that the World will conclude, notwithstanding that heroick Roughness and immoderate Zeal against Vice he pretends to, he rais'd himself to the Dignity of a Bishop by the same mean Arts he accuses his Brethren of, and his Thirst of Honour and Preferment was not inferior to that of his Neighbours. There are Seasons for fawning as well as insulting our Superiors, and a Man can never do the latter more safely, than in a Work that is to be publish'd seven Years after his Death.

ABRIDGMENT.

We are next entertain'd with an Account of the Duke of *York's* Administration in *Scotland*: He behav'd himself very obligingly at first to the Nobility and Gentry, who had been oppress'd by Duke *Lauderdale*, we are told, so that he gain'd very much upon their Affections; and though he still continued to countenance *Lauderdale's* Party, he advis'd the Bishops to connive at House-Conventicles, shew'd himself impartial in Matters of Justice, and encourag'd all Proposals for promoting of Trade; but yet a strange Fury discover'd itself, our Author says, among some of the Presbyterians, who were denominat'd *Cargillites*, from one *Cargil*, a Fanatick Preacher, who was very much followed. *Cargil* and his Disciples held, that the King had lost his Right to the Crown by his breaking the Covenant, and by a formal Declaration, renounced all

all Allegiance to him: The Guards fell upon a Party of them who were assembled in Arms, under one *Cameron*, a furious Preacher, from whom they obtain'd the Name of *Cameronians*: *Cameron* was kill'd in the Action, but *Haxton*, one of the Archbishop's Murderers, and *Cargil* were taken: *Haxton* being brought before the Council refus'd to acknowledge their Authority, or to answer any Questions, whereupon he was condemn'd to have both his Hands cut off, and afterwards to be hang'd, which, our Author says, he suffer'd with an amazing Constancy, seeming to be all the while in an Enthusiastical Rapture. *Cargil* and several others of his Disciples suffer'd with the same Obstinacy; and though the Duke offer'd them their Pardon at the Scaffold, if they would say, *God bless the King*, they refus'd it with great Contempt, and said, they would acknowledge no other King but *Christ*; but after fifteen or sixteen of them had suffer'd, the Duke order'd the Executions to be staid, and appointed the rest to be sent to the House of Correction, and kept to hard Labour; for *they were a sort of Madmen*, our Author says, *and never attempted any Thing against any Person*.

The Duke observing how great a Man *Argyle* was in *Scotland*, concluded, our Author tells us, that it was necessary either to gain him or ruin him: *Argyle* gave the Duke all imaginable Assurances of adhering to his Interest, in every Thing but in religious Matters; but plainly told the Duke, if ever he meddled with these, he would oppose him with all his Might; and though this Freedom seem'd to be taken well enough, yet *Argyle* observ'd a visible Coldness, and Distrust in the Duke ever after.

The Parliament assembling in *Scotland*, the Duke began with a popular Act, confirming all the Laws made against Popery: Another Act pass'd, declaring

it High-Treason to endeavour any Alteration in the Succession of the Crown; and a third, whereby Appeals might be made from any Court of Justice to the King, whereby, our Author observes, he became Master of the whole Justice and Property of the Kingdom; but the main Business of the Parliament seem'd to be the framing a new Test for the Security of their Religion, to be taken by all Officers in Church and State, Ecclesiastical Persons, Graduates, &c. to which the Court added a Clause, condemning all Resistance, and for renouncing the Covenant, and that the People should never meet or treat of any Matter Civil or Ecclesiastical, but by the King's Permission, nor endeavour any Alteration in the Government, either in Church or State. Many Objections were made to this Test, and about eighty of the most learned and pious of the Clergy left their Preferments, our Author tells us, rather than comply with this Law: Twenty of them came to *England*, most of whom our Author procur'd to be well provided for here, by the Interest he had in the Whig Leaders, where they behav'd themselves so worthily, that he had great Reason to rejoice at the Service he had done them.

The Earl of *Argyle* being a Privy Counsellor, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, was, in order to qualify himself for these Offices, oblig'd to take this Test; but he objected, that the swearing not to endeavour any Alteration in Church or State, was a limiting the Legislature, and desir'd to explain himself upon that Point; and when he was call'd upon to take the Oath, he declar'd, he did not intend to bind himself up from endeavouring in his Station to amend any Thing in Church or State, and he took this as part of his Oath; whereupon he was desir'd to write down his Explanation, which he did, and was immediately after sent Prisoner to
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Edinburgh Castle; for it was said, he assum'd to himself a Legislative Power, in giving the Sense of an Act of Parliament, and that the making this part of his Oath, was High-Treason: He declar'd also, that he did not think the Parliament intended to make an Oath that contradicted it self; and this was held to be a tacit Way of affirming, that he did think it, and a defaming and spreading Lyes of the Proceedings of Parliament, was capital in that Kingdom. Our Author endeavour'd to serve the Lord *Argyle* in this Distress, he says, and procur'd the Lord *Halifax* to lay the Matter before the King. Our Author also endeavour'd at this Time, he tells us, to serve Duke *Lauderdale*, who was now about to be cast off by his Majesty, for which *Lauderdale* sent him very kind Messages: And our Author glories in making these kind Returns for the Injuries he had met with; but the Duke of *York* took this extreamly amiss of him, and observ'd, that he would reconcile himself to his greatest Enemies in Opposition to him.

Argyle being brought to his Trial for the Words he had spoken in relation to the Test Act, the sole Question was concerning the Relevancy of the Libel, or the Point of Law, whether the Charge amounted to High-Treason or not: The Court consisted of the Justice General, the Justice Clerk, and of five Judges: The Justice General never votes but when the Court is equally divided; One of the Judges was deaf, and so infirm, that he went home to bed: The other four being equally divided, the old Judge was sent for again, and gave it against *Argyle*: The Jury, whose Business it was only to find the Fact, officiously found it to be Treason, but acquitted the Earl of the Perjury charg'd in the Libel. This was universally condemned, our Author says, and all People look'd upon it, and the Duke

Duke who promoted it, with Horror ; but it was said, that *Lauderdale* had restor'd that Family with such an extended Jurisdiction, that they were really Masters of the *Highlands*: and it was necessary to attain the Earl, though they design'd to restore him to his Estate under proper Limitations, as Lord *Halifax* told our Author. However, *Argyle* was made to believe they intended to proceed to Execution, and thereupon made his Escape out of the Castle, and came up to *London*. It was thought our Author was in the Secret ; and he gives us to understand, that he knew of his being in *London*, and saw several Papers of his writing, giving an Account of the Prosecution ; but he would not see the Earl, because he abhorr'd telling a Lye, which he should have been in Danger of, if he had been acquainted where he was. The King knew of his being in Town, but would not permit any Search to be made after the Earl, having still a very good Opinion of him. Our Author wrote to the Earl of *Perth*, he says, who was upon *Argyle's* Jury, to reprove him for the Verdict they had given, that Earl having been several Years under his Tuition ; but he shew'd the Letter to the Duke, hoping to merit at his Hands, and made greater Sacrifices afterwards to obtain his Favour.

The Duke now triumph'd in *Scotland*, we are told, the Presbyterians being depress'd, and the best of the Clergy turn'd out ; but he was more hated than ever. *Argyle's* Prosecution made Men dread his coming to the Throne ; and though he had promis'd to redress Grievances in relation to Trade, to wheedle the Merchants to concur with him in Parliament, he now forgot all his Promises, stifled several Accusations of Perjury, and compounded with the Lord *Halton* for his Pardon, who had been guilty of great Misdemeanors in relation to the Coin, upon paying

paying twenty thousand Pounds to two of his Creatures, which was all the Reparation the Nation had for many Years of Oppression and Injustice; and the new Oppressors went on in the same Tract the former had done, or rather worse: These Things, together with a Load of Age, and a vast Bulk, so sunk the Duke of *Lauderdale*, our Author says, that he died this Summer, *Anno*, 1682.

The Duke of *York* attended the King at *New-Market* this Year, and obtain'd Leave to return to Court; but going back to bring up the *Duchess*, the Ship he was in struck on a Sand, whereupon the Duke got into a Boat with his Dogs and his Priests, and a very few other Persons, though the Boat would have carried fourscore Persons more, and left a hundred and fifty, some of them Men of great Quality, to perish, which was laid to *Leg* the Captain's Charge, but the Duke took no Notice of the cruel Neglect.—— Upon the Duke's return to *England*, the Care of all Affairs in *Scotland* was committed to the Chancellor, the Earl of *Aberdeen*, and to *Queensbury*, the Treasurer: The *Scotish* Bishops wrote a Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, shewing the Kindness his Royal Highness had expressed to the Church, couch'd in such a Strain, that the Duke could not but despise the abject Flattery, our Author thinks. Proceedings against Conventicles were now like to be severer than ever; and the Fines appointed by Law, which had never been levy'd, but on some particular Persons, were now to be levy'd without Exception; whereupon the People all came to Church, even where the Service had been discontinued for many Years, but they came in so awkward a manner, that it was visible they had no intent to worship God. However, the Clergy seem'd much rejoic'd at the Change, and highly extolled the Services the Duke had done the Church;

Church; and the Cowardice of the one Side, and the ill Nature of the other, were animadverted upon by the Enemies of Religion. By this Proceeding, an impious Leaven, our Author observes, began to corrupt their Youth, who were before that time the freest from it of any Christian Nation: They were first corrupted by the Duke's Court residing in *Scotland*; and it has been since cultivated with great Care and Success.

One *Holme*, who had been in the Rebellion at *Bothwell-bridge*, was accus'd by a Kinsman of his of being amongst them, as indeed he was, our Author says; but there being but this single Witness, and he disprov'd, as to the Fact he swore against the Prisoner, of his seizing Arms at a certain Place, his Condemnation was thought very hard, and the Duke was apply'd to for a Pardon: But our Author observes, he was not born under a pardoning Planet, and *Holme* was executed, on the same Day of the Year the Lord *Stafford* suffer'd; by way of Retaliation for his Blood, it was thought.

But what brought the Kingdom of *Scotland* under the greatest Consternation imaginable, was the condemning one *Weir*, of *Blackwood*, for harbouring a Person who had been in the Rebellion, tho' there had been no Proclamation out against him; nor was it made appear, that *Weir* had any Suspicion of his being among the Rebels: Indeed he was not executed, but this put all the Gentry in a great Fright, who knew they were as obnoxious, many of them, as the Prisoner: Whereupon they reviv'd a Design which *Lockhart* had set on foot some Years before, of purchasing the Plantation of *Carolina*, and transporting themselves and their Families thither; for the Presbyterians saw themselves disinherited of their Birthright, in choosing Representatives in Parliament; and therefore said they would seek a Country where
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they might live as Freemen and Christians; in which they were encourag'd by the Duke, who propos'd the ridding himself of this untoward sort of People, who only waited for an Opportunity of breaking out into Rebellion; and Commissioners were sent to *London*, to treat with the Proprietors of *Carolina*. The Commissioners apply'd themselves to our Author, who assures us that they did not this Year, 1682, enter into any Conspiracy with the *English* Malecontents; tho' he acknowledges, they frequently went amongst them, and complain'd of the Oppressions they lay under, and particularly of the Terror they were in upon *Weir's* Sentence. Circuit Courts were order'd, our Author says, to enquire of all who had harbour'd Rebels, and they were to be prosecuted as Traitors; none were excepted, but those who should take the Test; which was a Proceeding, he thinks, not to be parallell'd, since the Days of the Duke of *Alva*. Many, he says, hereupon run to take the Test against their Consciences; while others prepar'd to transport themselves, rather than live in such an oppress'd desperate State.

R E M A R K S.

The Account our Author has given us of the *Scotch* Presbyterians, is in many Particulars very just; but what we are to understand by their being a *harmless Sort of People*, as he represents them in several Parts of his History, and by that Passage in p. 512. *that they never attempted any thing against any Person*, his Friends will do well to explain; for he tells us himself, that they assembled in Arms, that they fought the King's Troops, and publicly renounc'd their Allegiance to his Majesty; and that one of these harmless Men, whom he admires for suffering

suffering with that amazing Constancy, was one of the Murderers of the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and a notorious Rebel. How he cou'd represent such People as so extremely innocent, that *they never offended any Person*, is as amazing to me as the Constancy of the Murderer at the Hour of Death was to our Author. If he can thus become an Advocate for Rebels and Murderers, with what Face can he fall so severely upon common Failings? But, so happy a thing it is, as I have observ'd already, to be of the Number of the Elect! the grossest Crimes, the greatest Immoralities, become Virtues in the Saints! They shall be represented as innocent, if not meritorious, while the best Deeds of un sanctify'd Churchmen are accounted exceeding sinful! and not only their Failings, but their virtuous Actions entitle them to nothing better than Damnation, in the Opinion of our Author and his Brethren!

But to proceed: These innocent Men did not only murder the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and many others of the King's Subjects, but gloried in it, and held it was no Murder, but their Duty. They added also, that there was a declar'd War between those that serv'd the Lord, and those who serv'd the King; and that it was lawful to kill any of the King's Council and Soldiers in Defence of the Gospel. And surely it demonstrates a more than ordinary Zeal for the Cause in this good Bishop, who cou'd offer at an Excuse for such a People: It is not the Gown, or the Bishop's Robes, that will conceal the Wolf, after such plain Declarations in Behalf of these abandon'd Wretches, the Dregs of that vile Sect, among whom he had his Education, and first Impressions.

But 'tis observable, that this Prince, (his Royal Highness,) whom our Author soon after upbraids

with such Cruelty, and tells us he was not born under a pardoning Planet, offer'd the Criminals their Lives, if they wou'd only say, *God save the King*. But such was their Malice to the Royal Family, that nothing but our Author's cou'd equal it; they chose to die, rather than say one short Prayer for their lawful Prince: and notwithstanding the Flagrancy of their Crimes, and their uncommon Obstinacy, this relentless Prince, as he is represented, order'd the Executions to be staid, and only confin'd them to the House of Correction. Well might he rejoice when he heard of the Design of their Brethren to transport themselves to *Carolina*, rather than live in Subjection to their Governors. Had the whole Nation been of the same Principles, he might justly have wish'd, as King *William* was said to have done, that they were separated from the rest of *Britain*, and he should not envy any Prince the Happiness of being their King.

As to that Prosecution of the Earl of *Argyle* for explaining away the Force of the Test, we have this Account of it from Dr. *Sprat*, the late Bishop of *Rocheſter*, in the Preface to his Narrative of the *Rye-house* Conspiracy, as follows.

No ſooner was the Parliament adjourn'd, but the Earl of *Argyle*, firſt at *Edinburgh*, next in traversing ſeveral Shires, did make it his chief Buſineſs to inſinuate every where into the Minds of the Clergy and Laity, the moſt malicious Prejudices imaginable, againſt the whole Tenour of the Teſt.

And afterwards on his Return to *Edinburgh*, he often preſumptuouſly declar'd he would either not take it at all, or take it only with a Reſerve of his own Explanation, which he put in Writing, and diſpers'd; the Contrivance of it being ſuch as diſſolves all the Obligations of the Oath, and makes his own preſent Fancy and private Opinion the only Standard

Standard whereby he meant to be guided in all the publick Duties of his Loyalty and Allegiance.

At length his Majesty's High Commissioner the Duke, and the Privy Council of that Kingdom, having been well inform'd of the said Earl's seditious Carriage in City and Country, and being fully confirm'd in their Judgments and Consciences, of his traiterous Purposes in that fallacious and equivocating Paraphrase on the Test, which he own'd in their Presence, perverting thereby the sound Sense, and eluding the Force of his Majesty's Laws, in order to set the Subjects loose from their Obedience, and to perpetuate Schism in the Church, and Faction in the State; upon these Grounds he was deservedly prosecuted by his Majesty's Advocate, before the Sovereign Justice Court, according to the known Laws of his Country, and after a full and equal Trial he was found guilty of Treason by the learned Judges, and a Jury not only of his Peers, but also many of them his own nearest Relations. Soon after Judgment given, albeit the King was far from any Thought of taking away his Life; and that no farther Prejudice was design'd against him, but the Forfeiture of some Jurisdications and Superiorities, which he and his Predecessors had surreptitiously acquir'd, and most tyrannically exercis'd; besides the Disposal of Part of his Estate to pay his just Creditors, and some few moderate Donatives to those whom he and his Father had formerly ruin'd for their Fidelity to his Majesty; the Surplusage was intended entirely to return and descend to his Family: Yet the said Earl, abusing the great Freedom indulg'd him in Prison, (which he enjoy'd as largely after his Condemnation as before,) fled from his Majesty's Mercy; the Knowledge of his own Guilt not suffering him to venture on that Clemency, whereof he had before participated so

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plentifully, when he was under the like Sentence of Condemnation.

The King however, notwithstanding this new Provocation, still retain'd the same benign Thoughts of favouring his Wife and Children; and before it was known that the said Earl had more Debt on his Estate than the full Value of it amounted to, (which really was his Case,) his Majesty was graciously pleas'd, in one Royal Largess, to give thrice more of the Inheritance to his Posterity than their Father could lawfully have done had it never been forfeited.

But how ill he deserv'd or requited so many Acts of Grace and Bounty, will appear by the Sequel of his Behaviour, after his Escape; for instead of doing what his Accomplices and Dependants gave out he intended, that he would humbly cast himself at his Majesty's Feet, and implore his Pardon, (which he, of all Men living, had no Reason to think desperate!) he is no where to be found, but associating with his Majesty's implacable Enemies, in the Head of new Machinations of Treason, employs his Liberty Abroad in maintaining traiterous Correspondencies at Home, with restless Malice exciting the wicked Conspirators of both Kingdoms, to a fatal Union against the Life, Government and Family of his Sovereign and Benefactor.

And all this is to be prov'd upon him by Arguments as clear as the Sun, by the Credit of his own authentick Letters, and by the plain Depositions of his principal Messengers and Agents in the whole Villany.

It appears also in his Trial, that his Jury consisted of eleven of the principal Nobility, and four Lairds, and that they were unanimous in their Opinion, that the Earl was guilty of High Treason by the Laws of *Scotland*; their Verdict being in the Words

following: *They all in one Voice find the Earl of Argyll guilty and culpable of the Crimes of Treason, Leasing-making, and Leasing-telling, and find by plurality of Votes the said Earl innocent, and not guilty of Perjury.* It is a little strange, there should not be one dissenting Voice, if the Earl was as innocent as is pretended. As for that other malicious relation of the Duke's Shipwreck, wherein we are given to understand, that his Royal Highness took no Care of any Thing but his Priests and his Dogs, Mr. Echard gives us the following Account of that Accident.

On Friday Morning early, May the 5th, the Gloucester Frigate unhappily struck upon the Sand, call'd the Lemon and Oar, about sixteen Leagues from the Mouth of the Humber, though the Weather was fair, and one Ayres, reckon'd the best Coaster in England his Pilot: His Royal Highness being awaked out of his Sleep, and perceiving the Danger, still staid as long as he could safely on Board, till having Notice given him that there was above seven Foot Water in the Hold, he put off in his Pinnace, with as many as the Vessel would well hold, and sav'd himself on Board of the Mary Yacht: Other Boats were immediately sent to save the Men in the sinking Ship, but before any Service could be done, the Duke and the rest, to their unexpressible Grief, saw the Vessel sink to the bottom of the Sea; by which the Earl of Roxburgh in Scotland, the Lord Obrian, the Laird of Hopton, Sir Joseph Douglas, Lieutenant Hyde, Brother-in-Law to the Duke, with several of the Duke's Servants, and above one hundred and thirty Seamen were miserably lost; the Commander, Sir John Berry, hardly escaping by a Rope over the Stern into Captain Wyburn's Boat. See Mr. Echard's History of England, Page 1020. And the relation we have from Dr. Kennet,

in his third Volume of his compleat History of *England*, p. 395. is much the same with that given us by Mr. *Echard*; and it is remarkable, that neither of these Historians are much given to relate Facts to the Advantage of his Royal Highness: And what shews that our Author took up with this Story upon a very slight Information, is, that he imputes this Misfortune to one *Leg*, whom he makes to be the Captain of the *Glocester* Frigate; whereas, Sir *John Berry* was really the Commander, and was clear'd of being in any Fault by his Majesty and the Council; but *Ayres* the Pilot was sentenc'd to perpetual Imprisonment for his Negligence. Dr. *Kennet's* compleat History, Vol. 3. Page 395.

There is this further remarkable Mistake, which our Author's precipitate Malice would not permit him to examine; and that is, what Number of Men the Pinnacle of a fifth Rate Man of War might be suppos'd to carry; for he says, that the Duke might easily have taken in fourscore more than he did; and if we suppose, which is the least we can, that he had twenty with him before, these added to the fourscore, he would have had him taken in, will amount to one hundred, and if he can find any Pinnacle in the Navy that belongs to a fifth Rate that will carry half that Number, some Credit may be given to those improbable Facts he has given in upon Oath in this History. Indeed, it is observable, that our Author has turn'd the Pinnacle into a Long Boat; but though this be a Mistake I shall not much insist on, his Friends will be troubled to find either a Pinnacle or a Long Boat in the Navy that belongs to a fifth Rate which will carry one hundred Men; besides, it appears, that the Duke was awak'd out of his Sleep, and that they were all in a great Consternation, and had very little Time

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to deliberate. It is apparent also, that they did expect that the Boats from the other Ships would have come Time enough to their Assistance, by the Captain's remaining on Board, who escap'd into one of them; and it was purely an Accident that the Ship sunk so suddenly, and no more of the Men were sav'd: But this will remain as a Specimen, how slender a Foundation will furnish our Author with an Opportunity of venting his Spleen against the Royal Family, and how little the Facts he relates are to be depended on.

He proceeds to exclaim against the Order that was made for the levying the Penalties upon those who refus'd to come to Church: but acknowledges, that it had this good Effect, that it brought them all thither, which his Schemes of Indulgence and Comprehension could never do; and if it had no other Advantage but the preventing the robbing and plundering People's Houses while they were at their Devotions, as they us'd to do, this was sufficient to excuse the putting those Laws in execution; and though the Bishop seems to arraign their Cowardice in submitting to the Government, it was happy for the Country that they came thus tamely to Church, and did not continue to exercise their Courage upon their defenceless Neighbours. Nor can I observe, what Advantages the Enemies of Religion could reap from these People's attending Divine Service, rather than pay the Penalty of their Absence; or how his Countrymen came to improve in Atheism and Impiety by the Duke's residing amongst them, when our Author almost every where represents him as a Bigot to Religion, and particularly in the Story last mentioned, where he makes him take such an extravagant Care of his Priests, that he left his Relations to perish.

The putting the Laws in execution against those who harbour'd Traytors, is reckon'd up as another piece of Tyranny; though, it seems, any of them who would come in and take the Oaths and Test, how criminal soever they had been, might be indemnify'd; and what occasion the Saints had given the Government to require this Security of them, the many Rebellions, arm'd Conventicles, Murders, and Robberies, that had been committed for many Years, notwithstanding the greatest Indulgence and Condescension that could be shewn to that stubborn Generation, sufficiently justifies the Proceeding; and as to the pretended Hardships the Bishop relates in some particular Trials, if we consider upon how very slight Grounds he relates many Facts in this History, little Heed can be given to the Representations he has made of them: He seems determined that the Rebels shall be in the right, and the Government always in the wrong, whether the Administration be severe or mild; for all Methods, according to his own Relation, had been us'd to reduce this People to their Duty.

As to what our Author says of Duke *Lauderdale* and his Brother, the Lord *Halton*, it is not very intelligible, for he more than once falls upon the Government, because they were not more severely punish'd for their Male Administration; and yet he tells us, he made use of all the Interest he had to protect Duke *Lauderdale*, when the King was about to call him to an Account. At other Times his Affection to his Country was so great, that private Friendships ought to be sacrific'd to the publick Good; but now he seems so extravagantly good, that he would skreen even his greatest Enemies, whom he charges with subverting the Constitution both in Church and State, from being brought to Justice; so inconsistent is this Reverend Prelate with

with himself. But if he did endeavour to serve Duke *Lauderdale* as he relates, whether it was not in pure Enmity to his Royal Highness, as he stands charg'd, may deserve Enquiry; for surely so much Malice and Detraction were never express'd by one Man against another, as our Author has shewn in this History towards the Duke of *York*.

A B R I D G M E N T.

The Duke on his return to *England* was highly complimented by all, we are told: The Court was every where triumphant, and to free themselves of all Trouble from future Parliaments, they procur'd the Corporations to surrender up their Charters, and accept such new ones as the Crown thought fit to grant, which our Author looks upon as the highest Breach of Trust in the Officers of the respective Corporations. But nothing was more unaccountable, he thinks, than the high Strains of the Universities and the Clergy, who were now made use of by the Papists to prosecute the Dissenters.

He next gives us a short Account of the Election of Sheriffs at *Midsummer*, 1682: The Mayor, Sir *John Moor*, according to Custom, drank to Mr. *North*, and appointed him to be one of the Sheriffs, and directed the Common Hall to confirm him, and elect another; but the Hall said, the Right of electing both was in them, and so went to polling, but the Lord Mayor adjourn'd the Court; however the Sheriffs continued the Poll *without any Disorders*: The Mayor thereupon appointed another Poll, and the Sheriffs that were chosen at the Mayor's Poll were return'd, being Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box*, but Mr. *Box* not caring to serve, *Rich* was return'd, and sworn with *North* for the ensuing Year. The Violence

olence with which this Matter was manag'd, shew'd, our Author says, that the Court was resolv'd to carry that Point at any Rate : When *Michaelmas* came, the Whigs resolv'd to chuse a Mayor of another Stamp, but though they had the Majority, such Exceptions were taken upon the Scrutiny, that they lost it. This was manag'd in so gross a manner, our Author says, that it was evident the Court was resolv'd either by fair or foul Means to have the Government of the City in their Hands ; but because they would not be at this Trouble every Year, they endeavour'd to procure a Common Council, who would surrender their Charter into their Hands ; which Matter *Jenkins* manag'd by such indirect Practices, as blemish'd the Reputation he had for Probity, and at last the Court could not carry their Point.

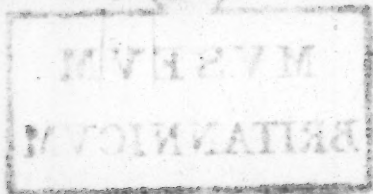
The Earl of *Sunderland*, who had been turn'd out for voting for the Bill of Exclusion, was restor'd to his Post of Secretary of State again, by the Interest of the Lady *Portsmouth*, upon making his Submissions to the Duke, whom the Lord *Hyde* had dispos'd to a Reconciliation ; upon which the Lord *Halifax*, who hated *Sunderland*, came to be in ill Terms with *Hyde*.

Upon the restoring *Sunderland*, all Men concluded, that his appearing for the Exclusion was by the Direction of the King ; but his Majesty was desirous to have that Lord near him, because he understood foreign Affairs, which *Jenkins* knew nothing of, nor *Conway*, who, when a foreign Minister talk'd to him of the Circles of *Germany*, was confounded, and could not conceive what Circles had to do with State Affairs.

Halifax, and *Hyde*, now made Earl of *Rocheſter*, our Author tells us, were at open War ; and *Halifax* charg'd *Rocheſter* with Bribery in the Treasury, which

which he thinks he made out, but the Duke and the Lady *Portsmouth* protected *Rocheſter*; and the Duke became an Enemy to *Halifax* upon this Account, notwithstanding the Service he had done him in oppoſing the Excluſion; whereupon *Halifax* ſent for our Author (who never went near any that belong'd to the Court) and told him the whole Matter. The Court not being able to prevail with the City to ſurrender their Charter, reſolv'd, our Author ſays, to have it condemn'd by Law. *Sawyer*, the Attorney General, a dull hot Man, undertook to get it done by the Advice of *Saunders*, a learned, but a very immoral Man: It was inſiſted, that the City had forfeited their Charter, by preſuming to petition the King for the ſitting of the Parliament, and charging him with delaying of Juſtice, by proroguing it: That they had alſo impoſ'd new Taxes upon their Wharfs and Markets, which was contrary to Law, and an Invaſion of the Liberty of the Subject; and as the Crown had granted them their Privileges, ſo they were forfeitable to the Crown again, upon the Abufe of them; and Precedents were brought of ſeizing the Liberties of other Corporations, upon the like ill Conduct.

It was ſaid on the other ſide, that Offences committed by thoſe who had the Government of the City, were to be charged only on thoſe who committed them, and could not affect the whole Body; and as to the Forfeitures of ſome Abbeys, upon the Attainders of the Abbots, theſe were confirmed by Parliament, which they need not have been, if the Forfeiture had been abſolute without. It was ſaid further, that none of the Common Council or Magiſtrates had been proſecuted for theſe Offences, and it was hard the whole Body ſhould ſuffer, when none of the Perſons immediately concerned had ever been



been questioned in a Court of Law; and that the Common Council petitioning for a Parliament, was to be ascrib'd to their Zeal for the King's Safety, and for the Religion establish'd.

They also urg'd the ill Effects that would follow a Forfeiture of their Charter, as that all the publick Charities, Trusts, and Endowments, that were lodg'd with the City, would be lost. When the Matter was ripe for Judgment, *Saunders* was made Lord Chief Justice, and *Dolben*, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, turn'd out, being not likely to concur with the rest, and Sentence was given against the City, without the Judges delivering the Reasons of their Opinions, as had been usual: But the Attorney-General mov'd, that the Judgment should not be recorded, to give Opportunity to the Common Council voluntarily to surrender their Charter, when they saw the Danger they were in; but this could not be accomplish'd, though the Voices came much nearer an Equality than was expected.

Sheriff *Pilkington* was prosecuted about this Time, for that when the Lord Mayor desir'd him to attend the Duke with him upon his Arrival from *Scotland*, he declin'd it, and reflected on the Duke for burning the City, for which Words, Damages were given against *Pilkington*, amounting to a hundred thousand Pound, two Aldermen having attest'd the speaking of the Words; and Sir *Patience Ward*, who swore *Pilkington* did not speak those Words, was convicted of Perjury, and would have been pillor'd, if he had not kept out of the Way; but the Juries at this Time, our Author observes, were a Shame to the Nation, and a Reproach to Religion, for they brought in their Verdicts as they were directed, without any Regard to the Evidence.

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The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, our Author tells us, was for taking Advantage of the Heat the City was in about the Contest for Sheriffs, and hop'd that this would have created such a Disturbance, that they might have made themselves Masters of the Tower, and that upon the Appearance of the least Disorder, the King would have yielded to every Thing; but the Duke of *Monmouth*, who understood the Difference between a Mob and regular Troops, thought they should but expose themselves and their Friends, and the Lords *Essex* and *Russel* were of the same Mind; but the Lord *Shaftsbury* seeing them so backward to enter upon Action, fell out with them, and endeavour'd to blast their Credit with the City; so the Duke of *Monmouth*, in order to set them right, appointed a Meeting at Mr. *Shepherd's* a Wine Merchant in the City, in whom they had an entire Confidence; and thither the Duke of *Monmouth* went, and persuaded the Lord *Russel* to go with him; the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* also went thither, where they found only *Ferguson* and *Rumsey*, two of the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Creatures; whereupon the Lord *Russel* resolv'd to be gone, but while he staid to taste some Wine, *Rumsey* fell into a Discourse with Sir *Thomas Armstrong* of surprizing the Guards, which *Rumsey* thought might easily be done; but *Armstrong* who had commanded them shew'd the Impracticableness of it. This was no Consultation, our Author says, of any Thing intended to be done, but only what might have been done; and the Lord *Russel* said nothing to the Matter, but having tasted his Wine went away. The Lord *Shaftsbury* had a Meeting with the Lords *Essex* and *Salisbury* before he left *England*, but his Notions were so wild and impracticable, that they were glad he was gone; and the chief Men of the Party form'd a sort of a Council,

cil, to consider of proper Measures to be taken. This Council consisted of the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Essex*, *Algernoon Sidney*, Lord *Howard*, and Mr. *Hampden*: They met often, and agreed to send *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland* to bring the *Scots* into their Measures, who were under such Oppressions, that it was very natural to believe, they would be glad of any Expedients to relieve themselves. The *Scots* therefore sent up *Baillie* and some others to *England* to treat with the *English* Malecontents, and the Duke of *Monmouth* had often met *Argyle* when he was in *London*, and talk'd with him of the State of that Kingdom, and what might be done. There the Pretence of these Commissioners from *Scotland* was to treat for the Purchase of *Carolina*, and our Author in the Simplicity of his Heart went to see *Baillie*, he says, at his coming to Town, not dreaming they had other Business; but a few Weeks after he heard they were often with the Lord *Russel*, which gave our Author some Apprehensions of the Danger the Lord *Russel* might incur by this Conversation with his Countrymen; and he acquainted the Lord *Essex* with it, who agreed entirely with our Author, that an Insurrection in the State Things were in would be fatal, tho' they both thought that the Obligation between Prince and Subject was mutual, and that upon a Breach on one side, the other was free; but though the late Injustice as to the City of *London* did set them at Liberty to look to themselves, Things were not yet ripe, and an ill concerted Insurrection would be their Ruin, as it had been the Lady *Jane Gray's* and *Wyat's* in Queen *Mary's* Reign.

What pass'd between the *English* and *Scotch* Lords our Author was not acquainted with, he says, no farther than that *Argyle* demanded twenty thousand Pounds to buy Arms in *Holland*, but afterwards was

was content to take ten thousand Pounds, and a Promise of a thousand Horse to be sent to *Scotland*, upon which he undertook to conduct the Matter in that Kingdom. Our Author knew nothing more but some general Hints, though *Hampden* offer'd to give him a particular Account of all; but he declin'd being acquainted with their Secrets, which he might be oblig'd to reveal, or tell Lyes to conceal them. There was no Money rais'd, he says, but he perceiv'd the Thing had got Vent; for his own Brother, a zealous Presbyterian, who had held a Correspondence with the Rebels, finding it not safe to live in *Scotland* came to *London*, and told him, that their Teachers had communicated several Things very freely to him, but the Project of *Carolina* cover'd all, even the Negotiations with the Lord *Argyle* in *Holland*, which were pretended only to concern the buying Ships, for transporting a Colony thither.

While this Conspiracy was carrying on, another Set of the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Creatures met at Mr. *West*'s Chambers in the *Temple*, among whom were *Rumsey* and *Ferguson*. *Rumsey* had been an Officer in *Cromwell*'s Army, and advanc'd by the King upon *Schombergh*'s Recommendation: He had been much trusted and employ'd by the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and was in the Secret of his going beyond Sea; so that our Author thinks he was not a Spy of the Courts all along, as was suspected. *Ferguson* was a profligate cheating Knave, and would have insinuated himself into our Author's Acquaintance, being his Countryman, but he would not see him, nor did he know his Face till the Revolution. *Good-enough*, who was Under-Sheriff of *London*, in the Shrievalty of *Bethel* and *Cornish*, with one *Holloway* of *Bristol*, us'd to meet often at *West*'s Chambers, and had a great deal of rambling Discourse, how easy it

it would be to raise on a sudden four thousand Men in the City, which would soon encrease to a greater Body; and this, our Author says, was probably the Scheme which Lord *Shaftsbury* was so possess'd with, that he thought it might be depended on; and they had many Discourses of the Heads of a Declaration proper upon such an Insurrection, and design'd to send *Holloway* to *Bristol*, to try what could be done there; but all this was only Talk, and only communicated to a few of their Confidants. *Rumsey*, *Ferguson*, and *West*, often talk'd of the Danger of executing this, and that the shorter and surer Way was to kill the King and the Duke; and *Rumbold* who had serv'd in *Cromwell's* Army, told them, how convenient his House at *Hodsdon* was situated to cut them off, as they came from *New-Market*; and that once the Coach coming through alone, while the Guards staid behind, he could easily have shot them both, and made his Escape through his Grounds; whereupon they had much wicked Talk how to execute this Design, but never fix'd on any Thing, all was but Talk; and the Lord *Howard* being once amongst them, when they were proposing the killing the two Brothers at the Play-House, he said, he lik'd that Way best, for then they would dye in their Calling.

Walcot, an *Irishman*, who had serv'd also in *Cromwell's* Army, approv'd of the Insurrection, our Author says, but refus'd to be concern'd in their Project of Lopping, which was the Term they us'd for murdering the King and Duke; and this wicked Set of Men had continued their Caballings and Discourses, from the Time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* went away. The King being at *New-Market* in April 1683, a Fire broke out there, which occasion'd his Majesty's Return to *London* a Week sooner than was expected.

Keling.

Keling, an Anabaptist, whom *Goodenough* had often employed to try their Strength in the City, and see who they might depend upon in an Insurrection, and to whom he had communicated the Design of murdering the King and the Duke, thinking the Trade of a Witness might prove better than what he followed at present, made a Discovery to the Lord *Dartmouth*, who sent him to Secretary *Jenkins*, who took his Depositions; but the Secretary intimating there must be another Witness to convict the Conspirators, *Keling* carried his Brother to *Goodenough*, and assuring him he was a Man that might be depended on, *Goodenough* run out into a rambling Discourse, of what they could, and would do; and said, the killing of the King and Duke would make their Work easy. *Keling* then wheedled his Brother down to *Whitehall* to the Secretary's Office, and told him, he had brought another Witness, and his Brother made Oath of all he had heard; but the Secretary not being turn'd for such Business, our Author says, let them both go till he acquainted the rest of the Ministry with the Matter: In the mean while, *Keling*, who had thus been drawn in to be an Evidence, sent Intelligence to *Goodenough* and the rest of the Conspirators to keep out of the Way.

Rumsey and *West*, our Author says, apprehending a Discovery, dress'd up a formal Story of a Conspiracy to make an Insurrection in the City, on the 17th of *November*, being Queen *Elizabeth's* Accession to the Crown, when the Mob us'd to be assembled for burning the Pope, &c. but others were for executing the Design the next Sunday, when People were at Church. But that part of the Story that was best laid, our Author observes, was a Pretence, that *Rumbold* offer'd them his House at the *Rye* to execute their Plot, where with forty Men well

arm'd and mounted, in two Parties, whom *Ramsay* and *Walcot* were to command. The Design might be easily effected: *Walcot* was to engage the Guards, while the other stopp'd the Coach, and murder'd the King and Duke, because *Walcot* made a Scruple of killing the King; but of the forty, our Author observes, they could name but eight, pretending that *Walcot*, *Goodenough*, and *Rumbold*, had undertook to provide the rest of the Men and the Horses; and *West* had actually bought Arms, our Author acknowledges, under a Colour of the Plantation Business. But the King's sudden Return from *New-Market* prevented the execution of this Design, which was look'd upon then as a singular Providence, and much enlarg'd upon both by Preachers and Poets.

Wildman, another of the Conspirators, who had been an Agitator in *Cromwell's* Army, and one in whom the Duke of *Buckingham* had great Confidence, was very active at this Time, under *Sidney's* Conduct: This Man being seiz'd on, and his House search'd, two Field Pieces were found in his Cellars, which belong'd to the Duke of *Buckingham*; but they were laid in ordinary wooden Carriages, our Author says, not fitted for Service, but being expos'd to view at *Whitehall*, were look'd upon as an undeniable Proof of their intended Rebellion.

The Lord *Howard* about this Time came to visit our Author, and spoke of the Plot with Abundance of Contempt, and with Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, vow'd he knew nothing of it.

The Council observing that the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Russel* were charg'd to be in the Conspiracy, wrote to the King to come to *London*, and in the mean Time order'd a Messenger to wait at the Lord *Russel's* Gate to take him into Custody if he went out; which was look'd upon, our Au-

thor says, to be done with a Design to frighten him away ; but *Russel* never reflecting on the Discourse at *Shepherd's*, did not think *Rumsey* could have prov'd any Thing against him, and so staid at his House till the King came to Town, when he was carry'd before the Council, and from thence sent to the Tower : *Sidney* also was apprehended and committed against Law, our Author says, there being then no Evidence against him : *Trenchard* also was apprehended, whose Crime was his moving the Exclusion Bill in the House of Commons.

Baillie and two other *Scotch* Gentlemen, *Campbells* by Name, upon the Discovery of the Plot, chang'd their Lodgings, and were taken up upon Suspicion ; and being examin'd if they were in any Conspiracy with the *English* to raise an Insurrection in *Scotland*, *Baillie* hesitated, our Author says, and did not answer directly, for his Conscience restrain'd him from lying ; whereupon the King and the Duke both threaten'd him, but in vain ; and the two *Campbells* being lately come from *Scotland*, knew nothing of the Matter, our Author thinks ; but *Cockran* another of them being sent for by the *Scotish* Secretary, and knowing the Secret, fled beyond Sea.

When the Council rose, the King acquainted the Duchess of *Monmouth* with the Duke's being in the Conspiracy, and seem'd so much concern'd, that he wept when he spoke to her of it ; but said, she might conceal him in her Apartments, for they should not be search'd ; but the Duke of *Monmouth* told the Lord *Cutts*, that he knew the King too well to trust him, and so went out of the Way ; and according to his Expectation the Duchess's Apartments were first search'd, for which Reason the Duke of *Monmouth* said, he would never trust the King afterwards, though our Author thinks his Majesty never intended to proceed to Extremities

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against him. The Lord *Grey* was also taken up, but made his Escape out of the Messenger's Hands, having made him drunk. His Majesty shewed some Appearance of Sincerity, our Author says, in examining the Witnesses, for he told them, he would not have a growing Evidence, and charged them to tell all they knew at once; nor did he lead them into any Accusations, by asking them Questions, only demanded, if *Oates* was in the Secret; to which they all answer'd, he was such a Rogue they would not trust him. Lord *Russel*, our Author says, from the Time he was committed, look'd upon himself as a dead Man, read the Bible, and *Baxter's* dying Thoughts much. The Lord *Russel's* treating with the *Scots*, being positively charg'd on him by a Committee who went to examine him, his Lady desir'd our Author to find out who it was that accus'd him; but, he thinks, it was but an Artifice, for *Cockran* was gone, and *Baillie* was a close Prisoner, whom our Author supplying with Necessaries in *Newgate*, was threaten'd to be sent to Jail himself; but he alledg'd, he was the nearest Kinsman he had in Town, and it was but doing as he would be done by; and from what he learnt of the *Scots*, he quieted the Fears of the Lord *Russel's* Friends. The Lord *Howard* still protested he knew nothing of the Plot, though he appear'd under the greatest Consternation; and the Lord *Russel* told our Author, that when the News came that *West* had surrender'd himself, he observ'd, he chang'd Colour, and acknowledg'd, that he had been as free with *West* as with any Man; and Mr. *Hampden* perceiving what a Dread the Lord *Howard* was in, advis'd him to abscond, if he thought he had not Courage to suffer what might happen. He was taken at his own House four Days before the Lord *Russel's* Trial, and cry'd when he was apprehended:

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At his Examination, he gave an Account of the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Design of making an Insurrection in the City; and that the Duke of *Monmouth* told him *Trenchard* had undertaken to bring a Body of Men from *Taunton*: He confirm'd also the Design of an Insurrection intended the 17th or 19th of *November*; and that there was a Council of six settled, of which himself was one, who often debated whether it would be proper to begin the Insurrection in the City, or in the Country; but before they would come to any Resolution, they sent *Aaron Smith* to enquire into the State *Scotland* was in, and gave him threescore Guineas for his Journey; but he knew no more, for he went down to the *Bath* while he was gone. Our Author says the Lords *Essex* and *Russel* began to apprehend their Error in trusting him; and *Russel* told our Author, in Prison, that their trusting a Man of so ill a Character, and putting themselves in his Power, would be their Reproach as well as Ruin; therefore at his coming to Town again, they told him they had given over all Consultations for the present, and resolv'd to be quiet.

The Earl of *Essex* was sent for up by a Party of Horse: He would not go out of the Way, our Author says, out of Tenderneſs to the Lord *Russel*, thinking his absconding might induce the Jury to believe him guilty. He appear'd in much Confusion when he was brought before the Council, and fell under a great Depression of Spirit after he was committed to the *Tower*. He had been before troubled with Fits of the Spleen, which now return'd upon him with greater Violence. He sent a Message by a Servant to his Wife, telling her *that what he was charg'd with was true*, and he was sorry he had ruin'd her and her Children. He order'd several Things to be sent to him, and among the rest a Penknife, with which he us'd to pare his Nails;

but it not being brought, he ask'd for a Razor, and said that would do as well. That Morning the King and the Duke came to the *Tower*, to see a new Invention concerning the Ordnance, as it was given out; as they were going into their Barge to return back, News was brought that the Lord *Essex* was kill'd; for his Man, thinking he staid longer in his Closet than ordinary, look'd thro' the Key-hole, and saw him lie dead; and breaking open the Door, they found his Throat was cut. At that time every Body look'd upon it as done by himself, our Author says, and the Coroner's Inquest found it to be self Murder: His own Surgeon also assur'd our Author, that it was impossible the Wound could be as it was, if it had been given by any Hand but his own.

The same Day the Lord *Russel's* Trial came on; and the first Point that was argued, was whether the Jury ought not to consist of Freeholders; to which it was answer'd, the Practice of the City had been otherwise; and that the richest Men were frequently Merchants, and not Freeholders; and the Law only design'd to have substantial Juries in this Case, and so the Point was over-ru'd. The Jurors were Men of fair Characters, our Author says, in other respects, but so much of the Court Party, that they were ready to believe any thing of that Side. *Rumsey*, *Shepherd*, and Lord *Howard* gave the same Evidence that has been mentioned already; and *Shepherd* swore that the Lord *Russel* was twice at his House: And both *Rumsey* and *Shepherd* swore that the Lord *Russel* express'd his Consent to the seizing the Guards, but did not swear he us'd any Words to express that Consent; so that our Author observes he was convicted of Treason for being at a Place by Accident, or upon some innocent Design, where Treason was discours'd of, without being engag'd

gag'd in the Discourse, or giving any Assent to it, by Words or otherwise, which at most amounted to no more than Misprision or Concealment of Treason. The Lord *Russel* brought many to testify his great Worth, and that he was not likely to engage in ill Designs. And our Author, and some others, testify'd that the Lord *Howard* had deny'd his Knowledge of any Plot, upon its first breaking out. The Prisoner urg'd in his Defence, that tho' levying of War was Treason, the conspiring to levy War was not; nor could a Conspiracy to levy War be produc'd as Evidence of his conspiring the King's Death. To which the King's Council answer'd, that a Consultation to seize the Guards, was an overt Act of a Design against the King's Person. The Prisoner urg'd farther, that the Forces the King kept were not legal Guards, but only a Company of Men in the King's Pay; and a Design to seize on them amounted to no more than a Design to seize on Part of the King's Army. And our Author says, after all the declaiming against constructive Treasons in the Lord *Strafford*'s Case, the Court were ever running into it, when they had a Design to destroy a Man. *Pemberton*, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, summ'd up the Evidence, at first very fairly, our Author thinks, but told the Jury at last, that a Design to seize the Guards, was a Design against the King's Life.

The Lord *Russel* spoke little as to the Fact; for being advis'd not to confess the whole Truth, he could not speak against what he knew to be true; tho' in some Particulars Things were carried beyond the Truth, so that he was convicted, and condemn'd.

Money was offer'd to the Lady *Portsmouth*, and all who had any Interest at Court, we are told, without measure, to save his Life; and he offer'd to live

beyond Sea, wherever the King saw fit, and meddle no more in *English* Affairs: But it was all in vain, for the King and the Duke were both immoveable. Our Author attended him every Day, till his Execution; he said he had for many Years walk'd before God with a sincere Heart; and if he had committed any Errors as to the Publick, they were only the Errors of his Understanding, for he had no private Views; he continued still of Opinion, *that when the King broke thro' the Laws, his Subjects might defend themselves, and restrain him.* Tillotson was often with the Lord Russel the last Week, and our Author and he thought the Party had been too quick in their Consultations, and gone too far, for that *Resistance in the Condition they then were was not lawful:* To which the Lord Russel answer'd, he thought a Government limited by Law, was but a Name, *if the Subjects might not maintain those Limitations by Force;* but he said there was nothing but the Embrio's of Things amongst them, which were never like to have any Effect. He thought it proper to leave a Paper behind him at his Death; but not being us'd to draw up such Papers, desir'd our Author to give him a Scheme of the Heads fit to be spoke to, and the Order they ought to be laid in, which he did; and the Lord Russel was employ'd three Mornings in writing out his Speech, of which he order'd four Copies to be made, and sign'd them, giving the Original and three of the Copies to his Lady, and reserving the fourth for the Sheriffs; the Passages which were tender, he shew'd to his Lady and our Author before he wrote them out fair; he wrote a Letter also to his Majesty, asking Pardon for what he had said or done contrary to his Duty, and protested his Innocence as to any Design against his Majesty's Person or Government.

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He was not ill pleas'd, our Author says, with the Account he receiv'd that Morning he was to suffer, of the Behaviour of *Walcor*, *Hone* and *Rouse*, who were executed the Day before: *Rumsey* and *West* had sworn fully against *Walcor*, and he had acknowledg'd in a Letter to the Secretary, that *the Plot was laid deep and wide*, and offer'd to make Discoveries; but deny'd any Concern in the Business at the *Rye*, and his undertaking to charge the Guards, while others should kill the King: He acknowledg'd indeed that *West* had often spoke of it to him in the Phrase of *lopping*; but he always refus'd to meddle in it, as an infamous Thing. *Hone* was a poor innocent Tradesman, our Author says, and drawn in by *Keling*, and *Lee*, another Witness, to promise to assist in killing the King, but did not know when or where it was to be done; he confess'd his Guilt at his Execution, but said those that witness'd against him had engag'd him in the Design. *Rouse* deny'd he was ever engag'd in any Design against the King's Life, but that he had heard the Witnesses let fall many wicked things relating to that matter, and design'd to discover them, but they had prevented him. These Men dying in this manner, our Author says, brought such a Disgrace on the Witnesses, that the Court did not think fit to make any further Use of them; and the Lord *Russel* seem'd to have great Satisfaction that there was *no Truth* in the *Rye Plot*, which was now counted such a Scandal to their Party: He ask'd our Author what he must give the Executioner, and he told him ten Guineas. And the Lord *Cavendish* coming to wait on him the Morning he suffer'd, he desir'd him to apply himself more to Religion; and told him what great Comfort he found by it in this Extremity. The Lord *Cavendish* had offer'd *Russel* to change Cloaths with him, and favour his Escape; but he would not admit

mit of it. And the Duke of *Monmouth* sent word by our Author, that if it would do the Lord *Russel* any Service, he would come in and run the same Fortunes with him; but *Russel* answer'd it would be no Advantage to have his Friends suffer with him. He sung Psalms great part of the Way to the Place of Execution; and when he deliver'd his Paper to the Sheriff, protested he had been far from any Design against the King's Life and Government. Having pray'd by himself, and with *Tillotson* and our Author, he laid his Head on the Block, without changing his Countenance; and it was cut off at two Strokes. His Speech was cry'd about within an Hour after his Death, which provok'd the Court; and they sent for *Tillotson* and our Author, to a Cabinet-Council, apprehending our Author had penn'd this Speech: Whereupon he told the King that he had indeed, at his Lady's Desire, made a Journal of every Passage which had happen'd during his Attendance on him, and he read it to them: They were astonish'd, he says, at the extraordinary Things in it, and ask'd our Author if he had not endeavour'd to dissuade the Lord *Russel* from putting many Things into his Speech: He answer'd, he had discharg'd his Conscience very freely to him; but offer'd to take his Oath that the Speech was penn'd by his Lordship, and *not by him*. The Duke seem'd highly offended at our Author, and it was concluded he should be ruin'd; for he was *heavily* charg'd as the Adviser, if not the Author of the Speech.

R E M A R K S.

The Relation our Author has given us of the Election of the Sheriffs of *London*, is so notoriously false that it cannot be pass'd by; particularly where
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he affirms that there were no Disorders committed at that Election; whereas the contrary appears, both from the Trials of the Rioters, and our Histories, from whence I have collected the following Account of that Transaction; viz. The Lord Mayor having, at the *Bridge-house* Feast, chosen Mr. *Dudley North* Sheriff for the ensuing Year, according to ancient Custom, by the Ceremony of drinking to him, summon'd a Common Hall to meet the 24th of *June*, for the Confirmation of Mr. *North*, and the Election of another Sheriff; Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box* were set up by the Tories; and Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* by the Whigs: The Pole was manag'd by the two Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*; but the Lord Mayor observing that the Sheriffs refus'd the Voices of those who came to Poll for *North* and *Box*; and on the contrary, enter'd several Mens Names for the other Side, who were not actually present, or were not entitled to vote, his Lordship adjourn'd the Common Hall to the 27th of *June*; at the End of the Proclamation of Adjournment, the Person who proclaim'd it, as usual, saying, *God save the King*; the Whigs hiss'd, and said, *God save the Protestant Sheriffs*; and cry'd out, *No Adjournment! No Adjournment!* and press'd so hard upon the Lord Mayor, that they beat him down upon his Knees, threw off his Hat, beat down the Sword, and he went in great Danger of his Life from the Mob, as he went off the Hustings: The Sheriffs also continued the Poll till Night, notwithstanding the Adjournment. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen being summon'd before the Council on this Occasion, and examin'd, the two Sheriffs were committed Prisoners to the Tower, by Warrant sign'd by twenty four of the Privy-Council, and an Information was order'd to be exhibited against them and the other principal Rioters;

Rioters; but the Sheriffs were soon after admitted to Bail. On the 27th of *June* the Lord Mayor further adjourn'd the Common Hall to the 5th of *July*, but happening to fall sick, sent an Order to the Recorder to adjourn the Hall to the 7th: The Sheriffs disputed the Validity of the Adjournment, and proceeded to elect and declare *Papillon* and *Dubois* Sheriffs for the ensuing Year. Hereupon the Court interpos'd, and an Order of Council was made, requiring the Lord Mayor to maintain the antient Customs of the City, and that the Proceedings for electing Sheriffs should be begun anew.

On the 14th of *July*, to which Day the Common Hall was last adjourn'd, the Lord Mayor upon that Day declar'd Mr. *North* duly elected by him, and directed a Poll for the other three; namely, *Box*, *Papillon*, and *Dubois*: The Sheriffs on the other Hand took the Poll for four Candidates, and declar'd *Papillon* and *Dubois* to have the Majority, while the Lord Mayor declar'd Mr. *Box* duly elected, by the Majority of Votes in his Books. On the 27th of *July* the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen being assembled again, great Numbers of People apply'd themselves to them, requiring an Answer to a Petition they had formerly deliver'd, that Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* might be call'd upon to give Bonds to serve for Sheriffs the next Year; to which the Lord Mayor answer'd, that the Court would take Care that such Persons should take the Office upon them, as were duly elected, according to Law, and ancient Custom: and that in this, and all other Things, the Court would endeavour to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Chair, and of the whole City; and in what they thought they did otherways, the Law must judge between them; and then commanded them in the King's Name to depart.

The Trial of the Sheriffs, *Pilkington* and *Shute*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, Sir *Thomas Player*, *Cornish*, *Bethel*, *Goodenough*, and the rest of the Rioters, for assaulting the Lord Mayor, and continuing the Common Hall after the Adjournment, was brought on before the Lord Chief Justice *Saunders* at *Guild-hall*, the 8th of *May*, 1683, where their throwing down the Lord Mayor, beating down the Sword, continuing the Common Hall after the Adjournment, and refusing to obey the Authority of the Lord Mayor, were unanswerably prov'd, and Judgment given against the Defendants accordingly: *Pilkington* was fin'd five hundred Pounds; *Shute*, *Grey*, *Bethel*, and *Cornish*, a thousand Marks each, and the rest proportionably to their several Offences.

Nor is the Election of the Lord Mayor at *Michaelmas*, 1682, less misrepresented, than that of the Sheriffs of the *Midsummer* before: The Whigs indeed muster'd up their whole Strength against Sir *William Pritchard*, who was next in Course, and set up Alderman *Gould* and *Cornish*: They had the Majority of Votes 'tis true, upon the Poll, but a Scrutiny being demanded, it appear'd, that great Numbers who appear'd for them had no Title to vote, and these being struck out, Sir *William Pritchard* had apparently the Majority.

The Whigs to shew their Spleen against the Lord Mayor, Sir *William Pritchard*, but principally in Hopes of making an Insurrection, caus'd an Action to be brought against him, Sheriff *North*, and several other Aldermen, at the Suit of Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*; and on the 24th of *April*, 1683, arrested the Lord Mayor, and kept him in Custody till one the next Morning; and had not the Lieutenantcy of the City been very vigilant, and immediately rais'd the Militia, it was highly probable they

they had broke out into actual Rebellion at that Time. This and several other such like tumultuous Proceedings, in a manner compell'd the Court to proceed in the *Quo Warranto* against the City, and caus'd the Judgment to be enter'd up against them. Nor was this done till after the Plot broke out, wherein these very Magistrates who had been concern'd in the several Riots, under Pretence of defending their Privileges, were prov'd to be in a Conspiracy to subvert the Government, and to that end, had enter'd into a Correspondence with *Argyle* and the *Scotch* Rebels, in order to effect it. The Court seem'd under a Necessity of making an Alteration in the Magistracy of the City, to prevent a Rebellion; and though the Law might be a little strain'd in the Case of the *Quo Warranto*, as the Parliament seem'd to apprehend by the Reversal of it, after the Revolution, yet if only ordinary Methods may be taken in such extraordinary Exigencies, it is impossible any Government can subsist long; and as we are taught that the Good of the whole is to be preferr'd on these Occasions to any particular Rights, and that a less grievous Method could hardly have been taken, where a Majority of that great City and their Magistrates were thus ripe for Rebellion, and own'd and avow'd their Republican Principles; this may not appear the most extravagant and tyrannical Act that ever was committed, as our Author has represented it, especially when we come next to consider the Plot, which was very far from being a Sham, as he sometimes would insinuate: Even from the Facts that our Author himself has admitted, there is abundant Evidence of the Truth of it, without having Recourse to the several Trials, or any other Authority, than this worthy History, as appears from the following Extracts.

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The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, our Author tells us, thought that the Contest about the Election of Sheriffs would have occasion'd an Insurrection, and that then they should have had an Opportunity of seizing the *Tower*; but that the Duke of *Monmouth*, who knew the Difference between a Mob and regular Troops, thought they should but expose themselves and their Friends; and of this Opinion were also the Lords *Essex* and *Russel*, which sufficiently demonstrates, that there was a Consultation among these Gentlemen to make an Insurrection, and that they only differ'd in the Means to effect it.

Our Author proceeds to tell us, that a Meeting was appointed to prevent the ill Effects of those Jealousies *Shaftsbury* had infus'd into the Citizens, and that the Duke of *Monmouth* desir'd the Lord *Russel* to go with him to *Shepherds*, in order to set Things right; from whence People will be inclin'd to infer, that his Lordship was not there by Accident, as our Author afterwards affirms; or that the Discourse of seizing the Guards was purely accidental, when one principal Design of their meeting was to debate the Feasibleness and Probability of their Success, upon an Insurrection, especially when we are told in the next Page, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lords *Russel*, *Essex*, and *Howard*, *Algernon Sidney*, and Mr. *Hampden*, form'd a Council to consider of their Affairs after *Shaftsbury* was gone, and actually treated with Commissioners from the *Scotish* Rebels to see what Forces they could raise, or Diversion they could make to favour the intended Insurrection in *England*: That they sent *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland* to learn the Condition the *Scotch* were in: That the Commissioners from the *Scotch* Rebels were often with the Lord *Russel*, which gave our Author Apprehensions of his Danger: That

That our Author consulted Lord *Essex* upon it, and that they both agreed, that an Insurrection in the State Things then were, would be fatal; but they held, that the Obligation between Prince and Subject was mutual, and that upon a Breach on one side the other was free. He says also, that he understood that *Argyle* demanded twenty thousand Pounds of the Conspirators to buy Arms to be employed in the intended Insurrection; and after all these Concessions, instead of acquitting the Lords of the Conspiracy, most People will be apt to conclude, that the Bishop himself was among the Number of the Conspirators, or at least so well acquainted with the intended Rebellion, that if the same Evidence had been produc'd against him, that he himself has given of the Share he had in it, he must have been convicted of High Treason, by any impartial Jury: Great Allowances therefore ought to be made in a Relation given by one, who was evidently an Accomplice, and Well-wisher to the Enterprize.

How can our Author pretend to any great Share of Loyalty, when he acknowledges he was acquainted with the intended Insurrection in *Scotland* from his own Brother, with *Argyle's* treating for Arms, and that he conversed with the Lord *Essex* of the Seasonableness of an Insurrection, and yet never revealed any of their Treasons to his Majesty, notwithstanding he had assur'd the King he would acquaint his Majesty with it, if ever he heard of any Designs against him?

Our Author acknowledges further, that there were frequent Meetings of several of *Shaftsbury's* Creatures who had been Officers under *Cromwell*, at *West's* Chambers in the *Temple*, who did not only discourse of the intended Insurrection, but how they might murder the King and the Duke, and that *Rumbold* propos'd his House as a convenient Place

Place to cut them off as they came from *New-Market*: That *Walcot*, an *Irishman*, who had been an Officer in *Cromwell's* Army, also refus'd to be concern'd in the assassinating the King and Duke, but approv'd of the Insurrection; and yet he tells us, that all this was but *rambling Discourse*, all was but *Talk*. Now if we reflect a little what sort of Men these Conspirators were; that they were compos'd chiefly of *Cromwell's* Officers; that they were *Shaftsbury's* Creatures; that they frequently met and consulted both of the Feasibleness of the Assassination and Insurrection, and that some approv'd of one Way, and some of the other, as our Author himself acknowledges, it will be very difficult to bring any Man to believe, that this was all but *Talk*, and *rambling Discourse*.

It appears also that the Court had no Hand in contriving this Plot, or so much as countenanced the Discovery, when the Conspirators came in, and voluntarily made Oath of it; for our Author tells us, that after both the *Kelings* had made their Depositions of the Fact before Secretary *Jenkins*, he suffer'd them to go away, and gave them an Opportunity of sending to several of the Conspirators to make their Escape.

He tells us also, that *West* had actually provided small Arms, and that *Wildman*, another of the Conspirators, had two Field Pieces in his Cellar; and though it should be admitted that every Thing was not prepar'd for the assassinating the King and the Duke at the *Rye*, yet since our Author does acknowledge, that the Conspirators did intend to assassinate his Majesty whenever they should have an Opportunity, and actually engag'd several Men in this Design, particularly *Hone*, who dy'd confessing it, it will take off very little Odium from the Party, that they had not absolutely fix'd upon the

Time and Place, though to most Men it is sufficiently evident that they had.

As to the Story of the King's telling the Duchess of *Monmouth* that she might conceal the Duke in her Lodgings, and yet afterwards sent to search for him there; this Story does not carry an Air of Probability with it; for though we should allow his Majesty to be as treacherous as our Author would have him, yet if his Heart had been so set upon apprehending the Duke of *Monmouth*, he would have order'd him to have been seiz'd before he had acquainted the Duchess with his Guilt; and our Author himself seems to believe, that his Majesty never intended to proceed to Extremity; from whence we may infer, he had no great Malice against the Duke.

The next malicious Insinuation we meet with, is, that his Majesty shewed an *Appearance* of Sincerity in the Examination of the Witnesses, whereas any other Man would have thought there was something more than an *Appearance* of Sincerity, from what our Author relates; for the King, he informs us, charg'd the Witnesses to tell all they knew at once; and told them, he would not have a growing Evidence, nor did he ask them any leading Questions. But what confirms me in the Belief that our Author himself was concern'd in the Plot, is, that he was employ'd by the Lady *Russel* to find out who it was had charg'd the Lord *Russel* with entertaining a Correspondence with the *Scotch*, especially, since he tells us, that upon Enquiry, he learned so much of the *Scots*, that *he quieted the Fears of the Lord Russel's Friends* upon that Head; which how he could do, without consulting some of the other Conspirators, is not easy to imagine. There is this further Reason to believe, that the Plot was not all a Sham: That the Lord *Howard*, though he protested

protested he knew nothing of it, yet was always under the greatest Consternation, as the Lord *Russel* observ'd, insomuch, that *Hampden*, another of the Conspirators, advis'd him to go out of the Way; and he cried, it seems, when he was taken, which is not easily accounted for, if only some *rambling Discourse* had pass'd amongst them. It is further observable also, that this very Lord *Howard* agreed with the other Witnesses as to the Design of an Insurrection: And that the Lord *Russel* told our Author in Prison, that their trusting a Man of his ill Character, and *putting themselves into his Power*, would be their Reproach as well as their Ruin; and therefore told Lord *Howard* at his coming to Town, that they had given over the Design for the present, and did not afterwards communicate their Consultations to him. But if all this be not sufficient to convince us of the Truth of the Plot, the Message which the Earl of *Essex* sent to his Wife from the Tower, *that what he was charg'd with was true*, must put it beyond Dispute, and reflects no small Ignominy upon our Author, who when he knew all this, could still have the Forehead to say, *all was but Talk, all was but rambling Discourse*. But why he should take such Pains to deny or conceal the Design of a Rising, as he calls it, when he acknowledges, that both by his and their Principles, Subjects may, and ought to rise and defend themselves, and restrain their Prince, when they apprehend their Liberties to be invaded, I can't conceive; for he would deprive himself and his Friends of the Honour of being concern'd in so glorious an Undertaking, to rescue their Country from Slavery and Oppression, as the Party esteem'd it; though indeed, it will be no inconsiderable Inducement to their Enemies, to believe the Conspiracy, that the Principles

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of the Conspirators naturally led them to engage in such an Enterprize.

As to the Hardships of the Lord *Russel's* Trial, and particularly his not having a Jury of Freeholders, our Author seems to have answered this Objection himself, by acknowledging, that he had a Jury of the most substantial Citizens, and that according to the ancient Practice of the City, Freeholders were not requir'd in these Cases.

There were three Witnesses produc'd against his Lordship: Lord *Howard* swore positively, that the Prisoner was at several Consultations concerning an Insurrection, and their joining with the *Scots*, *Rumsley* and *Shepherd* depos'd, that the Prisoner was at *Shepherd's* House, when the seizing the Guards was propos'd; and *Rumsley* swore positively, that his Lordship agreed to it; and the Design to raise an Insurrection, or a Consultation to levy War, have been allowed ever since the Revolution, and particularly in the Trials of the Conspirators in the Assassination Plot, to be sufficient Evidence, or Overt Acts, of a Design against the King's Life: And as to his Lordship's Objection, that he never consented to the seizing the Guards or the Insurrection, and so was guilty only of Misprision of Treason, in which Error our Author seems to be involved with him, it is held by all, that whoever comes into an Assembly more than once, where a Rebellion or Insurrection is propos'd, though he says nothing, is in Law presum'd to consent to it, and guilty of High Treason: It is construed a Misprision only, where the Party does not discover it the first Time he happens to be in such Company; and the Lord *Russel* in the Paper he left behind him, which our Author acknowledges he gave him Instructions to draw up, says, that he heard the Conspirators several

ral Times propose the seizing the Guards, though he never consented to it; and if it should be admitted that the King's Guards were not legally established, yet if we look upon them only as the King's Servants, which he keeps about his Palace for the Security of his Person, it would be difficult to suppose, that any Man who should contrive the seizing and disarming them, had no ill Design against the Person of the Prince. In Law, whoever conspires to compel the Prince by Force to yield to his Demands, is as guilty of High Treason, as he who conspires to murder him; and that the seizing the Guards was propos'd, in order to put a Force upon the King, can hardly be made a Question.

But to proceed to the Account our Author has given us of the Earl of *Essex's* Death. After this 'tis to be presum'd the Whigs will be asham'd of the Forgery they were once so fond of, that the Lord *Essex* was murder'd by the Direction of the Duke of *York*. Our Author tells us here that he was conscious of his Guilt: That he was exceeding melancholy, and that his Throat was cut in such a manner, as none could do it but himself; and that there was not the least Suspicion of his being murder'd at that Time: To which we may add, that his own Servants who attended him had no Suspicion of it; and that neither his Lady nor any of his Relations gave any Credit to the Story that was afterwards rais'd concerning it, or have been able to discover any Persons concern'd in the Murder to this Day.

Another whiggish Story our Author also has confuted, and that is, the barbarous Usage of the Lord *Russel* by the Executioner, whom they us'd to tell us, first struck him in the Shoulder, and that his

Lordship rose up and spoke to him, and that the Executioner did not cut off his Head under six or seven Stroaks; and this was insinuated to be done by Direction from Authority; whereas, our Author, who was upon the Scaffold, knew nothing of all this, but tells us, that his Head was sever'd from his Body at two Blows.

Whether our Author can be entirely justified in what he said before the Council in relation to the penning of the Lord *Russel's* Speech, I shall leave to others to determine, after I have stated the Fact. He tells us, the Lord *Russel* thought it necessary to leave a Paper behind him at his Death, and because he had not been *us'd* to draw such Papers, desir'd our Author to give him a Scheme of the Heads fit to be spoken to, and of the Order in which they should be laid, which he did: That his Lordship was employed part of three Days in *writing out* his Speech, and the Passages which were tender, he *writ* in Papers apart, and shewed them to his Lady and our Author, before he writ them out fair, *p. 558.* Our Author adds, *p. 562.* that the Council apprehended he had penn'd the Speech, whereupon he offer'd to take his Oath, that the Speech was penn'd by the Lord *Russel*, and not by him. Now whether by the Word *penning* is not generally understood the composing, rather than transcribing or writing out; and when our Author drew up the Heads to be spoken to, and put them in the Order they were to be laid, and had the altering of those Passages which his Lordship apprehended to be *tender*, as he calls them, he can be understood to have compos'd no Part of it, and was not a little too forward in offering voluntarily to take his Oath, *that it was not penn'd by him*, I refer to his Friends to consider; and whether we are not to suppose he had some secret Reservation, as
that

that it was not *all*, or *every part* penn'd by him, or the like, especially since our Author has made no Scruple in several of his Works to declare, that he both preach'd and swore with Reservations for several Years, which his Audience never discover'd, till he was pleas'd to acquaint them with his Reserves, and the Danger he might have incurr'd by speaking out was pass'd. Our Author, we are not to suppose would tell a direct Lie, or perjure himself in Terms for the World; but if any Jesuit in *Europe* ever exceeded him in the Doctrine of Equivocation, I am much mistaken.

A B R I D G M E N T.

Our Author being fallen upon in every Libel about this Time, says, he went over to *France* to be out of the Way. Here he was first acquainted with Marshal *Schombergh*, who brought him acquainted with Marshal *Belfons*; and while he was at Court one of the King's Coaches was order'd to attend him, and he was treated with extraordinary Respect, at which all Men were amaz'd; though, he thinks, his Majesty hearing that he was a Writer of History, thought to engage him to write on his side; and he was told a Pension would be offered him, but he made no Advances towards it; and though he was offer'd an Audience of the King, he would not accept it, because he could not have the Honour to be introduc'd by the Minister of *England*. He saw the Prince of *Conde* but once, he says, tho' that Prince design'd to have seen him often, for he had read his History of the Reformation, which was translated into *French*, and seem'd pleas'd with it; and he tells us, that Prince was thought the best Judge in *France*, both of Wit and Learning. The great Lawyers also admir'd his History, and there being some

likelihood of a Rupture with *Rome*, *Harlay* the Attorney-General, and First President of the Parliament at *Paris*, said publickly, if that should happen, our Author had laid before them a good Plan to copy by. Marshal *Belfons* had such an Esteem of our Author, that he attempted his Conversion; and for that Purpose carried him to a Cloister to see the Duchess *La Valiere*, who gave him an Account of her Conversion, and of her coming into that strict Order of the *Carmelites*, with great Humility and Devotion. He convers'd also with many of the *Sorbonne*, who wish'd, he says, for a regular Reformation, and declar'd against the Papal Authority; but told him the Bishops of *France* were vicious, ignorant Men, and therefore they expected no Good from them, any more than from the Court, who were only against the Pope now because he was in the Interest of the House of *Austria*. Our Author was once also to wait on Father *Le Chaise*, who was a dry Man, he tells us; however, he offer'd our Author great Things, if he wou'd come over to them. The Protestants also all courted our Author to a Man.

Having given us an Account of his Reception in *France*, our Author returns to the Affairs of *England*; and *Jefferies* being made Lord Chief Justice, all Men were apprehensive, he says, of very black Designs; for he was scandalously vicious, and *drunk every Day*, besides a Drunkenness of Fury in his Temper, that look'd like Enthusiasm: He did not so much as affect to seem impartial, and had three Judges join'd with him in the *King's-Bench*, who were fit to sit by him.

Suspensions began now to be entertain'd, that the Earl of *Essex* was murder'd, from the Report of a Boy and a Girl that heard a Cry in his Lodgings, that Morning he was found dead; and that they
saw

saw a bloody Razor thrown out at the Window, and a Woman came out of his Lodgings and took it up: But as soon as the Earl of *Essex's* Lady heard of this Report, she made a strict Enquiry about it, and sent what she had collected to our Author; who, when he had perus'd all, thought there was no Colour to ground any Prosecution upon; which the Lady would have encourag'd with all possible Zeal, if she had found any *Appearance of Truth in the Matter*. Besides, the Lord *Essex* had a Notion that every Man was Master of his own Life, and seem'd to approve of what his Wife's great Grandfather (the Earl of *Northumberland*) had done, who shot himself in the *Tower* after he was arraign'd.

Algernon Sidney being brought to his Trial, a very mean Jury was return'd; they were also tamper'd with before-hand, to see how tractable they would be. *Sidney* objected, that the Jurors were not Freeholders; to which *Jefferies* answer'd, that had been over-rul'd in the Lord *Russel's* Case. But the Lord *Russel's* Trial, our Author observes, was in *London*, and this in *Middlesex*, and so could be no Precedent for it, every Man who was no Free-holder in a County being suppos'd to be poor. *Rumsey* and *West* were produc'd as Witnesses again; but they could depose nothing against *Sidney*, only that they had heard of a Council of six; and in this they contradicted one another, *Rumsey* saying he had it from *West*, and *West* that he had it from *Rumsey*; which was not discover'd till the Trial was publish'd, for *Jefferies* would have order'd it to be struck out, as he did all *Sidney's* Objections to the Jury.

After *Howard* had given his Evidence, and observ'd the Uniformity of his Testimony with the Depositions of the other Witnesses, more like a Pleader than a Witness, our Author says, a Book was produc'd of *Sidney's* writing, and found in his Closet,

Closet, being an Answer to *Filmer's Divine Right of Monarchy*; wherein *Sidney* had asserted, that Princes deriv'd their Power from the People, and might be brought to Justice by them, if they abus'd that Power: Which the Court held to be Evidence of a Design against the King's Life; and that the Person who prov'd it was a second Witness of the Treason. Our Author, and several Persons of Honour depos'd, that they had heard Lord *Howard* deny there was any Plot; and *Blake* depos'd, that he said he was not to have his Pardon till the Drudgery of Swearing was over. It was prov'd also, that *Howard* said to *Sidney's* Servants, there was nothing against him; and bid them bring their Master's Goods to his House, when he was apprehended. *Sidney* insisted also on the Improbability of *Howard's* being taken into their Consultations, who could not raise five Men, or had five Shillings to pay them. 'Twas objected also, that a Similitude of Hands was not a legal Proof in Criminal Cases; and that these Papers contain'd only private Speculations; they had been written also many Years ago, and therefore could be no Proof of this Plot; and as the Work was unfinish'd, it could not be known what Turn the Author would have given to these Reflections, when the Book should be finish'd. *Jefferies* rudely interrupted the Prisoner in his Defence, we are told, but he maintain'd his Temper; *Jefferies* deliver'd it as Law, that the Book was an Overt Act of High Treason; and said that all the Judges were of the same Mind, for *scribere est agere*; and *Sidney* was convicted, and executed three Weeks after. Our Author thinks there never was a greater Piece of Injustice committed. When the Sheriffs shew'd *Sidney* the Warrant for his Execution, he charg'd them with being guilty of his Blood, in having return'd a pack'd Jury, by the Direction of the

the King's Solicitor; whereupon one of the Sheriffs wept, as he told a certain Person, who told *Tillotson*, who told it our Author.

Sidney left a Paper behind him, our Author says, in which he shew'd his Innocence, and that no Credit was to be given to Lord *Howard*; tho' he did not deny the Matter he swore against him: He shew'd also, that if the Patriarchal Scheme was right, as *Filmer* asserted, all the Princes in the World must be Usurpers, none being able to derive their Titles from the eldest Branch of *Noah's* Family: That a Prince could now have no other Title, but what was founded in Law and Compact; Possession, which *Filmer* had introduc'd as equivalent to a Descent in the right Line, would not help him, for then every prosperous Usurper would become a rightful Prince. *Sidney* sent for some Independent Preachers, whom he made his Confessors, and met Death, our Author tells us, as became one who had *Marcus Brutus* for his Pattern.

The Duke of *Monmouth*, whom the King still lov'd passionately, having conceal'd himself in *England* all this time, the Lord *Halifax* seeing Matters run so high, in order to put a Stop to them, contriv'd the bringing the Duke into Favour again, and drew up several Letters for him to the King, which were penn'd with an extraordinary Force; and the King was so mollify'd by them, that he was resolv'd to restore him to his Favour, upon making a Confession of his Crime; which the Duke refus'd to do, till the King promis'd him no Use should be made of it. The Duke of *York* insisted that he should be sent to the *Tower* for some Days, for Form sake; but the King would not agree to it, having promis'd to pardon him. *Monmouth* therefore, having made a general Confession of his Offences, and, by way of Compliment begg'd the Duke

Duke of York to intercede for him, the King receiv'd him with such Fondness as confounded all the Duke's Party; but the King having given out that *Monmouth* had confirm'd all that Lord *Howard* had sworn, *Monmouth* deny'd he had ever said any such thing; and affirm'd that Lord *Howard* was a Liar, and a Rogue: And this was spread about by *Monmouth's* Creatures, in all the Coffee-houses in Town: The next *Gazette*, however, gave an Account that the King had pardoned *Monmouth*, upon his confessing the late Plot. *Monmouth* thereupon affirm'd that he had not confess'd the Plot; which the King hearing of, order'd him to give in his Confession in writing; and by the Lord *Halifax's* Persuasion he wrote the King a Letter, *acknowledging he had confess'd the Plot*; for Plot, our Author observes, was a general Word, which might signify as much or as little as a Man pleas'd; and *they had certainly dangerous Consultations* among them, which might properly be call'd Plots.

The Duke of *Monmouth* reflecting upon what he had done, and thinking it a base Thing thus to betray his Party, and that his Confession might induce the Juries to credit what was sworn of the Plot, press'd the King, in a sort of Agony, to return him his Letter again, which the King did; but let *Monmouth* know he wou'd ruin him, if he persisted not to let him have his Confession under his Hand; but he still refus'd: Whereupon the King forbid him the Court, and *Monmouth* went beyond Sea, and was now more valu'd and trusted by his Party than ever.

Here our Author takes an Opportunity to acquaint us, that when the Prince of *Orange* was in *England*, the King told him, that if ever the Duke of York came to the Crown, he was of that restless, violent Temper, that he wou'd not reign four Years to an End;

End; and that the King gave the Prince of *Orange* a Seal, having another of the same sort, and told him that such Letters as he should send him which were not seal'd with that Seal, he must look upon as drawn from him by Importunity; and though the King wrote several threatening Letters to the Prince, on his entertaining the Duke of *Monmouth*, yet they being not seal'd with that Seal, the Prince infer'd, his Majesty was not displeas'd with the Reception the Duke met with. The King gave Orders also that nothing should be recorded in the Council-books to blemish the Duke of *Monmouth*.

Hampden, the remaining Member of the Cabal of six, was now brought to his Trial; but there being only the Lord *Howard* who could give Evidence against him, he was try'd for a *Midemeanour*, and fin'd forty thousand Pounds, though his Crime, our Author observes, was Treason or nothing.

Holloway, who had been out-law'd for Treason, was taken in the *West-Indies*, and brought over: The Court offer'd him a Trial, but he was prevail'd on, our Author says, in hopes of Pardon, to confess himself guilty; and acknowledg'd that he had been at several Consultations for making an Insurrection and had undertaken to procure *Bristol* to be seiz'd, with the Help of some Forces from *Taunton*, but they never made any Progress in it: That he also heard *Rumsey* and *West* often talk of lopping the King and the Duke, but had never discours'd with them upon the Subject, and did not think there were above five Persons approv'd of it; among whom were the two *Rumbolds*. But the Court thinking him not to be sincere in his Confession, order'd him to be executed, and he dy'd with great Constancy; and by his Behaviour our Author thinks he was no ordinary Man. The *Rye Plot*, we are told, receiv'd
a great

a great Blow by *Holloway's* Confession; for he says it appear'd there was nothing more in it than that a Company of seditious inconsiderable Persons were framing some treasonable Designs among themselves, which were not like to come to any thing: And by the Proceedings against Sir *Thomas Armstrong* the Court lost more Ground still; *Armstrong* was seiz'd in *Holland*, and brought over; he had been trusted in every thing by the Duke of *Monmouth*, and express'd such a Dejection of Mind before he made his Escape out of *England*, that *Hampden* told our Author he believ'd he would do any thing to save his Life: But in his Examination before the Council, he deny'd he knew of any Plot, but the Popish Plot, and desir'd only that he might have a fair Trial. He was loaded with Irons, our Author tells us, which was not usual for a Person of that Quality, having been Lieutenant of the Guards, and Gentleman of the Horse to the King; but the Credit of the Witnesses being so blasted, the Court was apprehensive a Jury would not credit them, and therefore order'd *Armstrong* to be executed upon the Outlawry, and would not suffer him to have the Advantage of a Trial, tho' the Statute allow'd it to any Criminal who came in within the Year. To which the Court answer'd, that he did not voluntarily come in, but was brought in by Force; and refus'd to allow him Council to argue the Point of Law, the Denial whereof was thought a very impudent Piece of Injustice. In the Paper he left behind him at his Execution, he deny'd that he ever knew of any Design against the King or the Duke's Life, or was in any Plot against the Government; and the Court order'd that no Reflections should be made upon his Speech, upon account of a Passage in it wherein he denies his being sent over by *Cromwell* to murder the King during his Exile,

Exile, as the King had reported to the foreign Ministers and others. Our Author says, he saw a Paper wherein *Armstrong* express'd his Resentments, in a sharper manner than he thought became a dying Penitent on this Subject, which being represented to *Armstrong*, he soften'd it much, though he shew'd that he never went but once beyond Sea, and then he carry'd a considerable Present of Money to the King from the Cavaliers, and brought back Letters of Thanks from his Majesty, for which *Cromwell* imprison'd him almost a Year; upon the Merit of which he was advanc'd to the Post of Captain of Horse at the Restoration. His Majesty, for the good Service *Jefferies* had done at this Trial, our Author says, gave him a Ring off his Finger with a Stone in it, which upon this Occasion was call'd the Blood Stone; and this being a hot Summer, the King advis'd *Jefferies* not to drink too hard upon the Circuit.

R E M A R K S.

The ungrateful People falling upon our Author in every Libel, as though he was concern'd in the Plot, he thought fit to withdraw, and visit the Court of the Grand Monarch; and as he has already demonstrated to us, that there was not a greater Genius in the *British* Dominions than himself, he is pleas'd to inform us here, that *France* also was sufficiently sensible of his Merit. The Ministry, the Princes of the Blood, the Clergy, Popish and Protestant, and the King himself, courted his Friendship at that Rate, that *all Men stood amaz'd*: The World *was struck* at the Approach of *Gilbert Burnet*, as if some Prodigy in Nature had appear'd, and all Parties joined in proclaiming his uncommon Worth. We knew not how to value him: A Prophet

Prophet has no Honour in his own Country : He might have had any Preferment in *France*, when they had not a Week's Experience of his Talents ; and could he have prevail'd with that tender Conscience of his own to have alter'd his Religion, he had infallibly been preferr'd to the Papacy on the first Vacancy ; but because the Reader possibly has already made suitable Reflections on the Character our Author has given of himself in this Place, I return with him to consider the State of Affairs in *England*.

How black soever the Designs of the Court might be, when they preferr'd *Jefferies* and his Brethren to the Bench, it is to be presum'd their Designs were not very deep or intricate, when they made choice of Men that were drunk every Day ; and after all, I don't perceive there was any great Matter in view besides the Trial of *Sidney*, and it would not have been any difficult Matter to have procur'd him to have been convicted, if Juries were so extreamly tractable as they are represented.

The Report of the Earl of *Essex's* Murder there is little Occasion to say any Thing to, because our Author has given it up as a Fiction, and assur'd us, there was no Colour for that Report : I proceed therefore to *Sidney's* Trial. He tells us, the Jury were tamper'd with before they were impanell'd, as the Whigs will affirm of every Jury that pass'd upon the Conspirators ; but when they produce some Proof of it, it may be Time enough to consider of an Answer.

The Witnesses were first produc'd to give a general Account of the Conspiracy, as was the Practice in the Trials of those who were try'd for the Popish Plot ; and though there was thought no Hardship in it then, yet now Mr. *Sidney* complains, that this might conduce to influence the Jury against him ; and

and notwithstanding, our Author says, they contradicted one another, it appears, they gave a much more rational Account of the Plot, than *Oates* and *Bedlows* were able to do of their Plot; and there is this further observable, that all who suffer'd for the Rye-Plot, confess'd the Substance of what they were charg'd with at their Execution; and the principal Dispute seems to be only, whether the Facts were treasonable or not: Whether it was criminal or meritorious to call the King to Account, and bring him to Justice, when he offended his Sovereign Lords the People. As to the Conspirators meeting and consulting how to effect this, our Author seems to admit it in forty Places. As to the Evidence which the Bishop and some others gave at the Trial, that they had heard the Lord *Howard* declare that he knew nothing of the Plot, this was the Case of most of the Witnesses of the Popish Plot, and particularly of *Turberville*, who, it is said, voluntarily declar'd to Dr. *Lloyd*, upon his Conversion from Popery, that he knew nothing of the Plot; and get the Doctor was advis'd, our Author tells us, when he question'd whether he ought not to have appear'd as an Evidence against *Turberville*, in Behalf of the Lord *Stafford*, that such a Declaration of a Witness was of little Moment, and not worth troubling the Court with; and if Doctor *Lloyd* and his Friends had not been of that Opinion, he must in some Measure make himself guilty of the Lord *Stafford's* Blood, in concealing his Evidence.

As to the Manuscript which was brought as Evidence of a treasonable Design against his Majesty and his Government, the Proof of its being the Prisoner's Hand-writing was as strong as any Proof could be, unless the Witnesses had actually seen him write it; for Sir *Philip Lloyd*, Clerk of his Majesty's

Council, depos'd, that having been sent by the King and Council to seize Colonel *Sidney's* Papers, he did go and put up what he found in his Closet: That he found those Papers now given in Evidence lying upon his Table, where he usually writ: That having put them up, he offer'd Colonel *Sidney* that he might seal them with his own Seal; but he refusing, the Deponent set his Seal to them, and so deliver'd them to the Council. It was prov'd also, that all the Sheets produc'd were of Colonel *Sidney's* own Hand-writing, which was evidenc'd by Mr. *Shepherd*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Cary*, Men of known Repute and Credit, who had long dealt with Mr. *Sidney* in Matters of Money, and had paid diverse Bills of Exchange for him, upon Notes written in the same Hand, and were never call'd to any Account for Mispayment.

And since the Revolution, many Instances may be brought, where in High Treason a Man's Writing has been prov'd by a Similitude of Hands, particularly in the Lord *Preston's* Trial, *Anno*, 1690. where Witnesses were produc'd, to swear they believ'd the Papers to be his Lordship's Hand, from what they had seen him write at other Times, which was exactly *Sidney's* Case; and it wou'd not be difficult to produce Instances of Persons convicted within the Compass of a few Years, upon much less Evidence.

But *Sidney* objected, that admitting the Writing was his, a Man might write what he pleas'd in his Study, so he did not publish it; which is an Opinion, that I believe never a Whig in *England* will trust to at this Day. But let us observe next, how extreamly innocent this Writing was that was found in his Study; and consider whether it was only design'd to exercise the Composer's Parts, as

was

was pretended, or to incite the Subjects to cast off their Allegiance.

It contains such Passages as these, viz.

“ The Power originally in the People of *England*
 “ is delegated to the Parliament; he (the King) is
 “ subject to the Law of God, as he is a Man; to
 “ the People that make him a King, inasmuch as
 “ he is a King. The Law sets a Measure to that
 “ Subjection: The Parliament is Judge of the par-
 “ ticular Cases thereupon arising: He must be con-
 “ tent to submit his Interest to theirs, since he is
 “ no more than any one of them, in any other
 “ Respect, than that he is by Consent of all rais’d
 “ above any other. If he doth not like this Con-
 “ dition, he may renounce the Crown; but if he
 “ receive it upon this Condition, as all Magistrates
 “ do the Power they receive, and swear to perform
 “ it, he must expect the Performance will be exact-
 “ ed, or Revenge taken by those he hath be-
 “ trayed.

And in another Place, he says, “ We may there-
 “ fore change or take away Kings without breaking
 “ any Yoak, or that is made a Yoak which ought
 “ not to be one: The Injury is in making and
 “ imposing, and there can be none in breaking it.

And in another, “ That the People must needs
 “ be the Judge of what happens between them and
 “ the King, whom they did constitute.

And in another, “ That as for the People’s being
 “ Judges in their own Cases, it is plain they ought
 “ to be the only Judges.

And in another, “ That the Power of calling
 “ and dissolving Parliaments is not in the King.

And in another, “ *That the general Revolt of a*
 “ *Nation from its own Magistrates, can never be called*
 “ *a Rebellion.*

But whether *Sidney* was convicted on incompetent Evidence or not, I believe few doubt of his being guilty of the Facts he was charg'd with; namely, the concerting an Insurrection with the *Scotish* Malecontents, and fomenting one at Home; especially when he thanks God in his last Prayer, *that he had singled him out to be a Witness of the Truth, and that he died by the Confession of his Opposers, for that OLD CAUSE, in which he was from his Youth engag'd, and for which God had often wonderfully declar'd himself.* It appears also, that when he was very young he took Arms against King *Charles* the First, and deserv'd so well of the Usurpers, that he was nominated one of the King's Judges. At the Restoration he refus'd to lay hold on the Act of Oblivion, but remain'd in Banishment till the Year 1667, when he return'd to *England*, and obtain'd a Pardon for himself, upon repeated Promises of Obedience to his Majesty for the Time to come; and yet was he found amongst the forwardest to enter into a Conspiracy against his Majesty. This is the Man whose Fate is so much lamented, and who is said to be so hardly dealt with; and indeed he ought to be lamented by all the Sons of Whiggism, for never was there a bolder or a more inveterate Enemy to Monarchy. But it must be admitted, there is one Fact so evidently prov'd in relation to the Sheriff's Behaviour at *Sidney's* Execution, that it can never be contested, and that is *the Sheriff's weeping*; for, he says, the Sheriff-himself told it to a Person, who told it to *Til- lerson*, who told it our Author, who now tells it us, and we must be very incredulous not to believe it, when he has given it in upon Oath. Some Infidels object, indeed, that though our Author swears positively to the Truth of all that comes within the Compass of his own Knowledge, yet as to the rest, he only swears to his Belief, as Men do Answers in Chancery.

But

But at this rate, nine Parts in ten of this History will be resolv'd into Dr. *Burnet's* Belief; which is not to be born; for then should it be admitted that the Doctor was *extremely credulous* in all Party Matters, as some of his Enemies suggest, what must become of the Credit of this worthy History, which is usher'd in, and interspers'd with more solemn Oaths than all the Histories that ever appear'd in the World before?

But to return to *Sidney*; there is one Argument of his Innocence that I must confess I do not perfectly understand: Our Author says, that *Sidney*, in the Paper he left behind him, shew'd his Innocence, and that no Credit was to be given to Lord *Howard*; and yet he did not deny the Matter sworn against him. From whence, if I must infer any thing, it is, that the Prisoner did not deny the Facts he was charg'd with, but that those Facts were criminal; namely, the corresponding with the King's Enemies, and fomenting an Insurrection. But however this may pass for sound Doctrine when the Whigs are under the Hatches, they will never admit it to be Orthodox when they are in the Saddle; for tho' they are observ'd to be the greatest Incendiaries in Disgrace, they are certainly the most notorious Oppressors when in Power; and laugh at Liberty and Property, as *Cromwell* us'd to do at *Magna Charta*.

Should it be admitted that Princes have no other Rights but what they derive from the Laws, surely our Laws give the Prince as good a Right to his Crown, as they do a private Man to his Estate, and sufficiently provide against the Conspiracies and Insurrections of private Men; and tho' every Possession is presum'd to be a legal Possession, both in publick and private Inheritances, until a better Right appears; yet neither *Filmer* or any Man will affirm, that the Possession of a Usurper (where the

rightful Owner is known, and continues to claim) can extinguish his Right: He that possesses himself of a Horse in an uninhabited Country, is by virtue of that Possession lawful and rightful Owner of that Horse; but where one robs another of a Horse, his Possession, tho' of never so long a Duration, will not prejudice the right Owner. If all must be resolv'd into Force and Possession, what are Governors but potent Robbers? And methinks there is this remarkable Difference between *Brutus* and *Sidney*, that *Brutus* fought in Behalf of a glorious Commonwealth, that had been establish'd several Centuries, without any Claim or Pretence of Title from any other; and *Sidney* conspir'd to destroy a flourishing Monarchy, that had continued many hundred Years in a Country that never knew what a Commonwealth was, unless the Reign of the Regicides may be call'd one. In short; one fought to maintain the Laws of his Country, and the other conspir'd to subvert them. But this is extremely like some of the rest of Bishop *Burnet's* Parallels!

Our Author seeming, in some Places, to doubt whether there was any Conspiracy against King *Charles II.* by the Whigs; at least, whether the Duke of *Monmouth* had a Share in it: I shall give the Reader the Notes that were taken on the Duke's surrendring himself, and the Letter which he afterwards wrote his Majesty, upon the Report that he deny'd there was any Plot.

November 25, 1683.

“ Yesterday the Duke of *Monmouth* came and
 “ surrendred himself to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, and
 “ desir'd to speak alone with the King and Duke;
 “ which was granted him. He first threw himself
 “ at his Majesty's Feet, acknowledging his Guilt,
 “ and the Share he had in the Conspiracy, and
 “ ask'd

“ ask'd his Pardon ; and then confess'd himself faulty
 “ to the Duke, and ask'd his Pardon ; also assur'd
 “ him, if he should survive his Majesty, that he
 “ would pay him all the Duty that became a loyal
 “ Subject, and be the first that should draw his
 “ Sword for him, should there be Occasion. He
 “ then desir'd his Majesty would not oblige him
 “ to be a Witness, and then gave an Account of the
 “ whole Conspiracy, naming all those concern'd in
 “ it ; which were more than those that had already
 “ been mention'd by the several Witnesses. He deny'd
 “ any Knowledge of the Assassination. When he had
 “ made an End of his Confession, his Majesty order'd
 “ him to be put into the Custody of a Sergeant at Arms ;
 “ this Day admitted him to his Presence, and order'd
 “ a Stop to be put to the Outlawry, and promis'd him his
 “ Pardon. He further added, that Dr. *Owen, Mead, Griffin,*
 “ and all the considerable Nonconformist Ministers,
 “ knew of the Conspiracy.

The Letter was in these Words:

“ I Have heard of some Reports of me, as if I
 “ I should have lessen'd the late Plot, and gone
 “ about to discredit the Evidence given against
 “ those who have dy'd by Justice: Your Majesty
 “ and the Duke know how ingenuously I have
 “ own'd the late Conspiracy ; and tho' I was not
 “ conscious of any Design against Your Majesty's
 “ Life, yet I lament the having had so great a
 “ Share in the other Part of the said Conspiracy.
 “ Sir, I have taken the Liberty to put this in
 “ Writing, for my own Vindication ; and I beseech
 “ you to look forward, and endeavour to forget
 “ the Faults you have forgiven me ; I will take
 “ Care never to commit any more against you, or
 “ come within the Danger of being again misled

“ from my Duty, but make it the Business of my
 “ Life to deserve the Pardon your Majesty hath
 “ granted to your dutiful

MONMOUTH.

But notwithstanding these Confessions, there is nothing to be inferr'd from them, our Author suggests; they were forc'd from the Duke, or the Lord *Halifax* prevail'd on him to make them, only to serve a Turn: And he might safely acknowledge a Plot, for that was a general Word, *and might signify as much or as little as a Man pleas'd.*

But for a Man to make use of Words which he knows his Hearers, according to the natural Construction of them, and the Circumstances he is in, must understand in such a certain Sense, and reserve another Meaning to himself, is such an intolerable Abuse of Speech as must render all Commerce with Mankind impracticable; and surely this is a Practice that was never avow'd by any but the Whigs: The Jesuits, if they are guilty of the like Evasions, are however so modest as not to defend or boast of them; this was reserv'd for our *British* Saints, for our Author and his Friends, who make such solemn Declarations against common Lying. They don't scruple, it seems, any evasive Arts, and the deceiving their Neighbours as grossly as any common Lyar can; but they always do it in such a manner as to be able to laugh at the Man they have deceiv'd, because he was such a Blockhead not to discover that the Words, dress'd up with some other Circumstances than they were spoken, wou'd have born another Sense: And this is the Subject of a double Triumph; for they do not only by their Equivocations wrong their Neighbour, but out-wit him

him too. In the Duke of *Monmouth's* Case there cou'd be very little Colour to interpret the Word *Plot* in any other Sense than the King understood it; for here the Duke was charg'd with a Conspiracy for which several Persons had been try'd and executed; he had, upon his Examination, acknowledg'd his Share in that Conspiracy, as far as it related to the Insurrection; nay, he had particularly distinguish'd between the Assassination and the intended Rebellion, and given a particular Account of the latter, and of the principal Conspirators concern'd in it: And after this, wou'd any Man but Bishop *Burnet* or his Disciples suggest that any other Plot or Design cou'd be intended, than the Conspiracy with which he was charg'd, and had confess'd his Share in? At this rate how difficult must it be to carry on any Commerce or Correspondence with a Whig? With what Care must we consider every thing he writes, to discover how many several Ways his Words may be understood, and what secret Reserves he may retain to deceive us at last, when we have us'd all the Caution that Prudence can suggest?

But after all, our Author is so good to acknowledge, that *they* (the Conspirators). *had certainly dangerous Consultations among them, which might well be call'd Plots*, p. 575. But how does this agree with what he has so often affirm'd, *that all was but Talk*; that it was no more than *rambling Discourse*? Where was the great Danger of *rambling Discourse*, or how cou'd such Discourse be call'd a dangerous Consultation?

Upon the whole, our Author seems to admit, that the Conspirators did think that when their Liberties were invaded, the King might be compell'd by Force to restore them. They did also look upon their Rights and Liberties to be then invaded,
and

and did often meet and consult how to relieve themselves, and compel the King to yield to their Demands; so far, I think, our Author does not scruple to acknowledge: But then he says they had not fix'd upon any Time or Place to execute their Purpose, and therefore though they might be said to be in a Plot, they were not guilty of Treason: This seems to be the whole Force of his Argument. But it must be consider'd, that either the putting such a Design in Execution wou'd have been Treason or not; if it wou'd not, then indeed the Design cou'd not be treasonable; but if the putting a Force upon the King, in order to oblige him to yield to our Demands be Treason, the *conspiring* to put such a Force upon him is Treason, and has ever been so construed, both before and since the Revolution; and particularly, in the Trials of *Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, &c.* a Conspiracy to levy War, or raise Forces against the King, was adjudg'd an Overt Act of conspiring the King's Death; nay, the very Imagination is Treason, if it can be made appear; much more when there have been frequent Consultations how to effect it, tho' no particular Time and Place have been agreed on. Cou'd our Author really believe, that where People met and consulted, and resolv'd to make an Insurrection, and fall upon the King the first time they had an Opportunity, tho' they did not agree upon Time and Place, this wou'd excuse them from the Guilt of Treason? He had better speak out, and resort to his old Maxim, That when our Liberties are invaded, we may lawfully resist, and compel the King to restore them, and then it must be admitted there could be no Treason, either in the Design, or in the Execution; and in this Light his Friends may indeed be look'd upon rather as Patriots than Traytors: Their Consultations were only

only in Behalf of Liberty and Property, and to rescue their Country from Tyranny and Oppression; but then how could these Consultations be deem'd dangerous, as our Author acknowledges? all the Danger, according to him, seems to be, that they should not succeed.

The Kindness his Majesty express'd to the Duke of *Monmouth* both in *England* and *Holland*, and particularly that Expression, *that his Majesty still lov'd the Duke passionately*, methinks agrees very ill with what our Author told us a little before, that his Majesty would have us'd those mean Arts to trepan him; and our Author must certainly do *Monmouth* a great deal of Injustice, or that Duke must be a very ungrateful Son, who could insinuate such vile Things of so fond a Father. But if that crafty insinuating Generation could wheedle him into a Rebellion against so kind a Parent, no wonder they corrupted his Morals in other Respects, and taught him to speak indecently of his Majesty: But however that Matter be, our Author has here sufficiently confuted that Calumny, that the King had no Tenderness in his Nature, when he makes him express the utmost Indulgence towards this ungrateful Son, after so many repeated Provocations.

The Execution of *Holloway*, who by his own Confession knew of the intended Assassination, and was to have had a great Share in the Insurrection, cannot be condemn'd on any other Account, than his being promised his Life, which as we have only our Author's Authority for, can be very little depended on; and his Reason for not admitting *Armstrong* to his Trial, namely, because the Juries would not credit the Witnesses, does not agree with what he has asserted a little before, that they would find any Thing they were directed to find, whether there was Evidence of the Facts or not. As to that

that Clause in *Armstrong's* dying Speech, that he knew of no Design against the Government, it may easily be accounted for, inasmuch as the Conspirators pretended all their Designs were for the Support and Establishment of the Government, and to prevent a Subversion of it; and as our Author confesses he had the Perusal and Alteration, if not the Framing of it, we are not to wonder at those equivocal Expressions we meet with in it: The Facts seem now to be pretty well settled; all the Dispute is, whether the Conspirators ought to be look'd on as Traytors, or ought to have Statues erected to their Memory, according to *Ferguson*, as Patriots and Champions of their Country's Liberties.

As to the Hardship of Sir *Thomas Armstrong's* Case, the Attorney General acquainted the Court, that the Prisoner at the Bar deserv'd no sort of Indulgence or Mercy from the King; not only, for that when he was seiz'd beyond Sea, Letters of fresh Communication with foreign Ministers and other People were taken about him, but also, because it appear'd to his Majesty by full Evidence positively given, that after the Disappointment of the Meeting at the *Rye*, by God's Providence in the Fire at *New-Market*, *Armstrong* was one of the Persons that actually engag'd to go upon the King's hasty coming to Town, and to destroy him by the Way as he came.

After this, says the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the King could not think himself in the least bound to go out of the Way of the Law, for shewing any distinguishing Act of Grace to Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, especially when it is manifest, there was scarce a Man living who had more personal Obligations to his Majesty, than he had, and yet no Man had made more ungrateful Returns for them, than he had done: Nor could his Majesty forget how many other Persons, and some very near his Majesty, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* had been the chief Instrument

of perverting; upon which Account his Majesty had Reason to look on him as the Author of many more Treasons besides his own.

As to the new Evidence against him, which the King's Attorney mention'd at the *King's-Bench* Bar, he only answer'd it by a bold and flat Denial; affirming upon his Death, *he never had any Design against the King's Life, nor the Life of any Man*, both which may be easily allow'd to be equally true, says Dr. *Sprat*, and after him Mr. *Echard*, for his Hands had been defil'd in Blood, which made him the less pitied. See *Echard*, p. 1027, 1043.

That *Jefferies* would take his Glass now and then, I shall not dispute, but that he was drunk every Day, this many now living can confute; neither can it be suppos'd possible, in the Business he was engag'd in, he should be always drunk: It is what our Author and the sober Party indeed charge all the King's Ministers in both Kingdoms with, whenever the Whigs are out of Play, and therefore Judge *Jefferies* must content himself with Neighbour's Fare. But the Tories to be even with them observe, that the true Reason the Fanaticks refuse to drink, is, for fear they should discover their Roguery, and lose an Opportunity of over-reaching their Neighbours; and that a Saint is seldom sincere, or suffers himself to be honest, if he is not half drunk, and therefore it would be for the Good of Mankind if he took his Glass oftner.

ABRIDGMENT.

In *Scotland* great Endeavours were made to discover the Negotiation (Conspiracy) between the *English* and *Scotch* Malecontents, and the Torture of the Boots was frequently us'd on this Occasion. Here our Author takes an Opportunity of acquainting us with

with the Cruelties practis'd by the Duke of York when he was in *Scotland*. This Torture of the Boots, he says, was always perform'd in Presence of the Council, and was so very dreadful, that most of the Council would retire when it was put in Practice, if they were not restrain'd by a particular Order. But the Duke of York was so far from going away upon these Occasions, that he look'd on with an unmov'd Indifference, and as if he had been viewing some notable Experiment; which made all Men look upon him to have no Bowels or Compassion in him. The Lord *Perth*, he says, observing this, resolv'd to imitate the Duke, and shew how well he was qualify'd for the Office of Inquisitor General; and one *Spence*, a Servant of *Argyle's*, being requir'd to take an Oath, to answer such Questions as should be demanded of him, upon his Refusal, the Earl of *Perth* did not only give him the Torture of the Boots, but found out a new and illegal Torture, and by little Steel Screws, so screw'd his Thumbs together, that he sunk under the Torment, and confess'd all he knew. By the same Means they compell'd *Carstairs* to confess, but it amounted to little more than some Discourses of taking off the Duke, we are told. However, our Author thinks *Carstairs*, who was a Preacher, was much to blame for not revealing such black Propositions. For our Author's Part, he kept himself out of these Difficulties, by telling all his Friends, that he would not be involv'd in any such Confidence, for *as yet he thought Resistance was not lawful*.

By what the Ministry screw'd out of these two Persons, they found Evidence to prosecute the Earl of *Tarras*, and six or seven other Gentlemen; but they were principally set upon the Destruction of *Baillie of Ferviswood*, who by the ill Usage

Usage he had met with in Prison, seem'd very near his Death, if that would have satisfied the Malice of the Court; but knowing how acceptable a Sacrifice his Execution would be, they resolv'd to bring him to his Trial, and he was found guilty, and executed the same Day, denying that he knew of any Design against the King's Life, or any Plot against the Government; but he thought it was lawful for Subjects under such Pressures to endeavour to relieve themselves: And thus this learned Gentleman, after twenty Months hard Usage, our Author observes, was brought to his Death, by such Practices as are us'd in the Courts of Inquisition; and the only Excuse which was ever pretended for this infamous Prosecution, he says, was, that they were sure he was guilty, and that he understood the whole Secret of the Conspiracy between the two Kingdoms; but they did not consider what a Precedent they made, by which, if Men were once possess'd of an ill Opinion of a Person, any Violence or Artifice might be us'd to run him down. Our Author's Relation to this Gentleman, and the great Esteem he had for him, he hopes, will excuse the Resentment he shews on this Occasion.

He proceeds to give us an Account of the Death of his Friend *Leighton*, and some other Bishops, in the Year 1684. *Stearn*, Archbishop of *York*, he says, dy'd in the 86th Year of his Age, being a sour ill temper'd Man, who minded nothing but the enriching his Family, and was suspected of Popery, from his Compliances with the Court, and the Duke. *Gunning*, Bishop of *Ely*, dy'd also this Summer: He was a Man of great Reading, and had all the Subtilty and disputing Humour of a Schoolman: He was of a strict Life, but a dry Man, and inclin'd to Superstition: He had

had a confus'd Head, and made a dark and perplex'd Preacher: He introduc'd much Greek and Hebrew, and the Opinions of the Fathers into his Sermons: and the Ladies being pleas'd with his Way of preaching, the King us'd to say, it was because they did not understand him. *Morley*, Bishop of *Winchester*, also dy'd this Year, who was in many Respects a very great Man, very learned, and had a great Vivacity of Thought; zealous both against the Papists and the Dissenters, but would be soon provok'd, and to that Degree, that he was not Master of himself. *Dolben*, Bishop of *Rochester*, succeeded *Stearn* in the Archbishoprick of *York*. He was a Man of more Spirit than Discretion, we are told, and an excellent Preacher; but his free Conversation laid him open to the Censure of a vicious Court. *Turner* succeeded *Gunning* in the Bishoprick of *Ely*: He had been long in the Duke's Family, and was a sincere good natur'd Man, of too quick an Imagination, and too defective a Judgment, but moderately learn'd, and so was not able to do the Duke much Service. *Mew*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, who succeeded *Morley* in the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, had been a Captain in the Civil Wars, and afterwards took Orders, but understood very little Divinity, or any other Learning, and was weak to a childish Degree; but his Zeal and Obsequiousness rais'd him to this great See. *Kenn*, who succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Bath and Wells*, was a Man of an ascetick Course of Life, a lively Temper, but too hot: His Sermons were very edifying, but more apt to move the Passions than instruct. By him and *Turner* the Papists hop'd to gain, or at least delude the Clergy; and it was observ'd, that all the Clergy in favour were unmarried, of whose coming over the Papists had the greater Hopes.

The

The Lord *Danby* had now lain five Years in the *Tower*, while three Parliaments had sat, and had often mov'd the Court of *King's Bench* to be bail'd, which the Judges were afraid of consenting to, though the two last Parliaments had not mention'd him; but *Jefferies* being bolder than his Predecessors, ventur'd to bail him, and all the Popish Lords. *Oates* was sued by the Duke of *York* for calling him Rogue and Traytor, which was a very common Thing with *Oates*; and the Jury gave his Royal Highness a hundred thousand Pounds Damages. The Duke of *Beaufort* also, and several other Lords, brought Actions of *Scandalum Magnatum* against those who had revil'd them in the late furious Heats; and great Damages were given by obsequious Juries. Actions of *Scandalum Magnatum* were also brought against *Williams*, Speaker of the House of Commons, for licensing the printing the Votes, which contain'd Matter of Scandal against several Lords. This was promoted by the Duke, to prevent the calling another Parliament, we are told, who would never have suffer'd their Speaker to be punish'd for obeying their Orders.

The *French* this Year bombarded *Genoa*; and our Author seems very angry that the *English* did not call them to an Account for it. *Tangier* was order'd to be demolish'd, after we had been in Possession of it twenty Years, and been at great Expence in the Works, only to save Charges, our Author says, that the Court might not come under a Necessity of calling a Parliament.

The *Dutch* contriving to dispossess the *English* of their Factory at *Bantam* in the *East-Indies*, engag'd the old King in a War with his Son, who was in Possession of *Bantam*; and by the Assistance of the *Dutch*, made himself Master of that Town,

and drove out both his Son and the *English* Factory, under Pretence of having assisted the Son in his Rebellion; though in *England* it was understood that the Father had resign'd that Kingdom to his Son, and that the *Dutch* incited the old King to this Enterprize, only to have an Opportunity to dispossess the *English*. However that Matter was, the *English* Court, our Author says, look'd upon this as a Foundation for a new War with the States, when they should be in a Condition to attempt it; and the Court press'd the *East-India* Company to make Remonstrances upon it, which gave a Jealousy of some ill Design, whereupon the Company was backward in doing any Thing that might give a Handle to a Rupture.

Our Author now comes to give an Account of his own Hardships; and first, he says, the Court directed Dr. *Hascard*, Rector of *St. Clement's*, to turn him out of his *Thursday's* Lecture there: That preaching afterwards at the Rolls on the fifth of *November*, by the particular Command of Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, he chose for his Text these Words; *Save me from the Lion's Mouth; thou hast heard me from the Horns of the Unicorns*. He had not preach'd against Popery, he says, for above a Year before, and therefore was now resolv'd to do it to the Purpose, and shew'd how well Popery might be compar'd to a Lion's Mouth, which was then open to devour them. He took Notice also of the Wish of King *James* the First, against any of his Posterity, who should endeavour to introduce that Religion: This increas'd the Anger of the Court against him, he says, though nothing could be made of it: The Choice of his Text was most taken Notice of, he observes, the Lion and Unicorn being the Supporters of the King's Arms;

Arms; though this never came into his Thoughts. However, the King wrote to the Master of the Rolls to discharge our Author, as being disaffected to his Government; whereupon he resolv'd to travel, which both preserv'd him from the Duke of York's Resentment, and put him in a Way of doing great Service to these Kingdoms, and the Interest of Religion.

We are next entertain'd with *Roswell's* Trial, for certain treasonable Words deliver'd at a Conventicle, which were sworn by three Women, without any Variation in the Evidence; tho' the Words were denied by those who took the Sermon in Short-Hand, and the Women could not prove they were at the Meeting. It was objected also to be very improbable, that they should remember so long a Period, and agree so exactly in the same Deposition. *Jefferies* with his usual Vehemence asserted, he tells us, that all preaching at Conventicles was treasonable, and that was enough to induce the Jury to believe any Thing on that Head, and so *Roswell* was convicted; but when the Words came to be examin'd, they were found not to be treasonable, and the King being out of Countenance at the Stories that were brought him of the Witnesses, order'd the Attorney General to yield to an Arrest of Judgment, though it had been more to the King's Honour to have pardon'd him.

Haies, a Banker, was also try'd upon a Letter found in *Armstrong's* Pocket, written by *Haies*, to give *Armstrong* Credit for Money in *Holland*, who was outlaw'd for High Treason, and consequently this was an abetting the Traytor; but the Jury not thinking the Hand of *Haies* sufficiently prov'd, acquitted him, to the great Mortification of the Court, who thought Juries only Matter of Form,

and that they were always to find Bills as they were directed.

Here our Author introduces a Story of three Persons whom he does not care to name, that were engag'd in a sudden Quarrel, and one of them kill'd, but uncertain by whom; however one of them upon Promise of a Pardon, confess'd himself guilty of Murder, when the Fact was indeed but Manslaughter. This Person being of a rich Family, and not well affected to the Court, sixteen thousand Pounds, our Author tells us, were demanded for his Pardon, of which the King had one half, and two favourite Ladies the other, which he calls a monstrous perverting of Justice, and setting the People's Blood to sale; and supposing the Gentleman innocent was no better than Robbery.

Another grievous Complaint against the King, is, his Majesty's sending for the young Earl of *Clancarty* from *Oxford*, who was under Bishop *Fell's* Tuition, and causing him to be clandestinely married to the Lord *Sunderland's* Daughter, by which Means he was perverted to Popery, to the great Grief of his Mother, who had put him under Bishop *Fell's* Care to prevent it.

The Earl of *Rocheſter* being weary of that insignificant Post of President of the Council, we are told, aspir'd to be Governor of *Ireland*; whereupon the Lord *Sunderland* advis'd his Majesty to put the *Irish* Army under a distinct Command, to keep that Kingdom in an entire Dependance upon him, which was a Mortification to the Earl of *Rocheſter*; who objected, that the Lord Lieutenant could not answer for the Peace of the Kingdom, if the Army was not under his Command; but he was forc'd to submit.

The Court of *France* entertain'd great Expectations at this Time, 'tis said, that King *Charles* would declare himself a Papist, which was occasion'd by Advice sent them from an *Indian* Missionary who resided at the *English* Court, who us'd to divert the King often with his Travels: This Man, it seems, propos'd to his Majesty his returning into the Bosom of the Church, whereupon the King gave him such Answers, as he not knowing the King's Way, took for Indications of his Compliance, our Author says, and wrote over his Surmises to the *French* Court, whereupon that King gave a general Hint of the great Turn they expected.

This Missionary was a very weak Man, we are told, and attempting the Conversion of the Earl of *Halifax*, that Lord made himself very merry with his Simplicity, and particularly with an Account of a pretended Miracle wrought upon the King of *Siam*, whom the Fathers pretended to have half cur'd of a Palsy, but would not proceed in the Cure, unless that King would declare himself their Convert first, and so neither the Cure nor the Conversion were perfected.

There was a Design laid about this Time at the Lady *Portsmouth's*, to have for ever divided the King and the Duke, our Author says, in which *Barillon* the *French* Minister, the Lords *Sunderland* and *Godolphin*, were principally concern'd: The Duke of *Monmouth* came over privately, and return'd very well pleas'd with his Journey; and the King was about to send the Duke of *York* away into *Scotland*, 'tis said.

His Majesty's Fondness for the Lady *Portsmouth* still encreas'd, we are told, and notwithstanding he surpriz'd her with the Grand Prior of *France*, whom he commanded out of the Kingdom upon it, he ca-

refs'd her in the View of all People, which he had never done before by her, or any other Woman.

The Lords *Halifax* and *Rochester* still continu'd to clash, it seems; and it was expected *Rochester* would have been call'd to an Account for some Misdemeanors *Halifax* had discover'd in the Treasury, if the King's last Illness had not prevented it: His Majesty had a Humour in one of his Legs, which for some Weeks prevented his walking round the Park as he us'd to do, three or four Times a Day, so fast, that it was difficult to keep Pace with him; but now not being able to walk, he spent much of his Time in his Laboratory. On *Sunday* the 1st of *February*, 1684, he begun to lose his Stomach: The next Morning his Majesty was taken with a Fit of an Apoplexy, whereupon his Physician, Dr. *King*, who attended him, ventur'd to let him Blood, without any Advice, apprehending, that if a Minute was lost, it would have been impossible to have sav'd his Majesty's Life; whereupon the Privy Council order'd him a thousand Pounds. However, it being apprehended that a Return of the Fit would carry him off, the Bishop of *London* advis'd his Majesty to prepare for the worst that might happen, and *Sancroft* made a very weighty Exhortation, wherein he us'd a good Degree of Freedom; but the King made neither of them any Answer, any more than he did *Kenn*, who was the most in Favour of all the Bishops. Some imputed this to Insensibility; but others, our Author says, guess'd better, that it proceeded from his being of a different Religion; and a second Fit returning on the *Thursday*, the Physicians acquainted the Duke that his Majesty was not like to live a Day, whereupon the Duke introduc'd Father *Huddleston*, to whom the King having confess'd himself, receiv'd Absolution, and the other Sacraments at his Hands, all Persons being order'd to withdraw,

withdraw, except the Earls of *Bath* and *Feverſham*: But every Thing muſt have been perform'd very ſuperficially, our Author obſerves, it being over ſo ſoon. However the King ſeem'd to be at great Eaſe now, and it was reported, that he told Father *Huddleſton* he had ſav'd him twice; firſt his Body after the Battle of *Worceſter*, and now his Soul; and that his Maſteſty demanded; if he ſhould declare himſelf of the Church of *Rome*; but the Father not being prepar'd for this, answer'd, that he would take it upon himſelf to ſatisfy the World in that Matter: Afterwards the Company was call'd in, and the King ſuffer'd the Agonies of Death with a Calm and Conſtancy that amaz'd all Men who knew how he had liv'd.

Kenn, while his Maſteſty lay a dying, endeavour'd to awaken the King's Conſcience, we are told, and ſpoke with great Elevation of Thought and Expreſſion, like a Man inspir'd, and pronounc'd many ſhort Ejaculations, which affected all but him, who was moſt concern'd, who ſeem'd to take no Notice of them. He preſs'd the King often to receive the Sacrament, but he declin'd it; however, a Table with the Elements ready conſecrated being brought into the Room, this occaſion'd a Report that he had receiv'd it. *Kenn* preſs'd him to ſay that he deſir'd it, and that he dy'd in the Communion of the Church of *England*; to which he answer'd nothing: He demanded then if he deſir'd Abſolution, which the King, our Author ſays, thought might do him no Hurt, if he thought any Thing at all, and ſo *Kenn* pronounc'd it over him, for which he was much blam'd, the King diſcovering no Signs of Repentance for his paſt Life.

Kenn was alſo blam'd for preſenting the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lady *Portsmouth's* Son, to him for his Bleſſing; but upon this Occaſion ſome in the Room

said, that the King was their common Father, whereupon they all kneel'd down, and desir'd his Blessing. His Majesty complain'd often afterwards that he was burnt up within, but with great Decency, and said once, that he hop'd he should climb up to Heaven Gates, which was the only Expression he us'd that look'd like Religion, according to our Author.

He made use of all his Strength in delivering his last Words to the Duke, wherein he express'd his Kindness to him, and said, he resign'd all into his Hands with Joy. He often recommended the Lady *Portsmouth* to his Care, desir'd he would be very kind to her and her Son, as well as his other Children, and that he would not let poor *Nelly* starve, meaning Mrs. *Gwyn*, but said nothing of the Queen, or of his People, or Servants, or concerning the Payment of his Debts, though he left ninety thousand Guineas behind him, which he had kept so secretly, that no Person knew any Thing of them.

His Majesty dy'd on *Friday* the 6th of *February*, 1684, about eleven a Clock, in the fifty fourth Year of his Age, having reign'd thirty six Years, and eight Days, if we compute from the Death of his Father, and twenty four Years and eight Months, if we reckon from the Restoration. There were many apparent Suspicions, our Author says, of his being poison'd, as he understood from *Lower* and *Needham*, two famous Physicians, who told him, they would not suffer his Stomach to be open'd before them, and that *Short*, another Physician, suspected foul dealing, who himself believ'd he was poison'd, in the House of a Popish Patient, not long after; and Mr. *Henly* of *Hampshire* told our Author, that the Duchess of *Portsmouth* told him, that the King being come to a Resolution of sending away
his

his Brother, and calling a Parliament, and she having communicated this to her Confessor, she believ'd he had told it to some others, who took this wicked Course to prevent it, for the King intended to have executed his Design on the next Day after he was taken ill. Our Author proceeds to give us a Character of this Prince, which has been consider'd already. As for the Papers relating to the King's being reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*, they could never be of the King's composing, our Author thinks, for he never read the Bible, or laid Things together, further than to turn them to a Jest; but 'tis possible the Lord *Bristol*, or Lord *Aubigny* had given him those Papers, as a Summary of such Discourses as had pass'd between them, to keep him fixt, and might prevail with him to copy them out in his own Hand, for his Majesty had talk'd over the Substance of them with our Author; but the publishing of these Papers, he observes, shew'd a great want of Judgment, or disregard to his Memory. Our Author concludes, that he has gone through all that related to his Majesty's Life or Reign, with that Regard to Truth, and the Instruction of Mankind, as became an impartial Historian, and one who believes himself accountable to God for what he writes.

R E M A R K S.

A great Part of this History is so far from being founded on the Author's certain Knowledge, or the Relations of credible People, that uncertain Guesses at Peoples Thoughts, an unhappy Look, or an unpromising Countenance, has often a great deal built upon it. The Reader must have observ'd what Representations our Author has made of the Duke
of

of *York's* Conduct in the *Dutch* War, and how he calls his Courage in question upon the most uncertain Surmises imaginable; some Persons were kill'd near him, and thereupon it was believ'd *he was struck*; *Pen* us'd such an Expression which it was thought had an Influence on him. And here our Author pretends to have *heard* that some of the Council (whether Friends or Enemies he does not think fit to acquaint us) *thought* that the Duke *look'd unconcern'd* when any Criminals were put to the Torture; which made Men have dreadful Apprehensions of him: So that it is not enough for a Prince to be cautious of his Words or his Actions, the unerring Dr. *Burnet* will judge him by his Looks; nay, he is not only infallible himself, but he seems so happy in his Acquaintance, that none of them can be deceiv'd in a Man's Countenance, but they can read every Man's Soul in his Face; but if either they or he should be mistaken, what Reparation can he make for those numerous Calumnies he has cast upon many Princes and great Men, in this History, upon such Surmises as these? Not that the Wise will be much mov'd at such idle Relations; but his credulous Friends the Fanatics and false Brethren, he knew requir'd no better Proof in Party Matters; and Father *Burnet's* private Thoughts will be of more Weight with them than the strongest Proofs produc'd on the other Side.

As to what was extorted out of *Spence* and *Carstairs*, by the Torture, our Author does not pretend at all to dispute the Truth of it, but seems to pass over their Evidence and his Friend *Baillie's* Trial so very slightly, that any one that is acquainted with his Arts wou'd easily conjecture there was more in them than he cared should be commonly

known:

known: And indeed any Man that reads *Baillie's* Trial, must be very far gone in Prejudice, that can suspect the Truth of *Argyle's* and *Sidney's* Conspiracy.

In the Trial of *Baillie*, the Earl of *Tarras* depos'd, that *Baillie* went to *London* in order to press the *English* Malecontents to enter upon Action.

Alexander Monro depos'd, that the Prisoner solicited the *English* Malecontents to supply *Argyle* with Money.

Robert Martin depos'd, that at a Meeting at the Prisoner's Chamber in *London*, it was agreed to send the Deponent to *Scotland*, to see what Condition the Scots were in, and to direct them not to stir till there should be a Rising in *England*.

William Carstairs depos'd, that about *November* or *December*, 1682, *James Stuart*, Brother to the Laird of *Carbness*, wrote a Letter to him from *Holland*, importing, that if any considerable Sum could be procur'd from *England*, something of Importance might be done in *Scotland*: That he communicated this Letter to Mr. *Shepherd* of *Abchurch-Lane*, who told him he had communicated the Contents of the Letter to Colonel *Sidney*, and that Colonel *Darvers* was present, and said, that Colonel *Sidney* was averse to employing the Earl of *Argyle*, or meddling with him, judging him to be much affected to the Royal Family, and inclin'd to the present Church Government: That Mr. *Shepherd* press'd, that the Deponent being going over to *Holland*, might have some Commission to the Earl of *Argyle*, but the Deponent refus'd to be concerned in it, and went over into *Holland* without any Commission from any Body, but he discours'd with the Earl when he was there, of what Mr. *Stuart* had writ about the Money, and of raising a thousand

land Horſe and Dragoons; and my Lord *Argyle* was of Opinion, that without ſuch a Number of Horſe and Dragoons nothing was to be done; and that he had calculated the Expence for Arms, and Ammunition, and leſs than thirty thouſand Pounds would not be ſufficient; and the Deponent was deſir'd earneſtly to ſolicite that Matter in *England*.

That the next Day after the Deponent returned to *England*, he met with Sir *John Cockran*, and having acquainted him with the Earl's Demands of thirty thouſand Pounds, and the thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, Sir *John* carried him to my Lord *Ruffel*, to whom the Deponent propos'd the Affair, but my Lord being an abſolute Stranger to the Deponent, he had no Answer at that Time; but afterwards having met him accidentally at Mr. *Shepherd's Houſe*, where the Lord *Ruffel* came to ſpeak to *Shepherd* about the Money abovenamed, as Mr. *Shepherd* told the Deponent, when they had done talking, the Deponent deſir'd to ſpeak with the Lord *Ruffel*, which he did, and having reiterated the former Propoſition for thirty thouſand Pounds, and the thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, the Lord *Ruffel* told the Deponent, they could not get ſo much rais'd at the Time, but if they had ten thouſand Pounds to begin, that would draw People in, and when they were once in, they would ſoon be brought to more; but as for the thouſand Horſe and Dragoons he could ſay nothing at the preſent, for that muſt be concerted upon the Borders.

That the Deponent did communicate the Deſign on Foot to Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Griffin*, and Mr. *Mead* of *Stepney*, who all concurr'd in the promoting of it; as alſo one, a Counſellor in the *Temple*, and that *Nelthrop* frequently ſpoke to the Deponent of the Money to be ſent to *Argyle*.

That

That the Prisoner told the Deponent, that having talkt with the Lord *Russel* and others, he found an Impossibility of raising that Sum; but that they were certainly promis'd ten thousand Pounds, which was agreed to be paid into the Deponent's Hands, in order to be remitted to *Holland*, for providing Arms; that both Sir *John Cockran* and the Prisoner lamented the Delays that were made in paying in the Money, and said, they fear'd it would be too little if it were paid in; and the Deponent being ask'd to explain what he meant by the Words to capacitate him (*Argyle*) to begin the Business, he said, he understood by the Word Business, an *Insurrection in Scotland*.

Upon *Baillie's* Jury were two Noblemen, and thirteen Gentlemen of Quality, who unanimously found him guilty of the Treasons he was charg'd with, though a Majority had been sufficient to have convicted him by the Laws of that Country; and the Facts being prov'd beyond all Dispute, it must be presum'd, that our Author's great Esteem for the Prisoner, proceeded from his Love to the good Old Cause, and though he was executed under the Notion of a Traytor, we ought to look upon him as one who dy'd for the Liberties of his Country. But as has been hinted already, the Evidence that was given at this Trial, is such a Confirmation of the Guilt of the *English* Conspirators, as can never be confuted, which is the true Reason our Author gives us so imperfect an Account of the Trial, and chuses to dwell rather upon the Prisoner's Hardships, in order to move Compassion; and this is his constant Practice, when Facts are not to be denied, to slide them over, and endeavour to move the Reader's Pity, by a sorrowful Relation of the Prisoner's Sufferings.

The

The Character our Author gives us of Bishop *Stearn* seems very unjust; for notwithstanding he tells us he minded nothing but the enriching his Family it appears, that he founded four Scholarships in *Jesus College* in *Cambridge*, and two at *Bennet*, of ten Pounds *per Annum* each, and contributed largely to the repairing several publick Buildings, and particularly he gave above eighteen hundred Pounds to the rebuilding of *St. Paul's*, and according to *Le Neve* he was a Man of eminent Worth and Abilities, and behav'd himself suitably to the high Station he possessed: The Characters of Bishop *Morley* and Bishop *Gunning* have been given already, to which I refer the Reader.

Nothing can be more malicious and disingenuous than our Author's Account of the *Dutch* dispossessing the *English East-India* Company of their Factory at *Bantam*; they were so far from wanting to be put in Mind of the Loss they had sustain'd by the Court, that they lament the Loss of it to this Day. The Truth is, this Factory lay near the Spice Islands, and convenient for the *China* Trade, and was upon these Accounts of more Consequence to them than half their Factories in *India*. The *Dutch* could never have been Masters of the important Island of *Java*, and Sovereigns of those Seas, and excluded us from the Harbours and Provisions there, the want of which is an unconceivable Disadvantage to that Trade, but under this Pretence of a Rebellion, now the *Dutch* will hardly suffer the *English* to set their Feet on Shore in that Island, or purchase Provisions for their Money, while the good-natur'd *English* admit them into all their Ports and Factories, with the same Freedom they do those of their own Nation. Those that are acquainted with the Practices of the *Dutch* Abroad, laugh at all those Stories

of pretended Plots and Rebellions: It is by this stale Trick they have now made themselves Masters of all the valuable Branches of the *Indian* Trade; though here in *Europe* they wipe their Mouths, and cry they have done no Harm; and when the Facts are so notorious they cannot be denied, then by their Application to some mercenary Mistress or Courtier, our Resentment is diverted; and I am credibly inform'd, from a considerable *East-India* Merchant, who is still living, that it cost the *Dutch* a hundred thousand Pounds in Hush Money upon this Occasion.

Whatever Hardships our Author may think he suffer'd, which it seems was no more than being silenc'd, and reduc'd to talk Treason in private; other People apprehended this to be but a very moderate Correction, and a most undeniable Evidence of the Lenity of the Government, who were not ignorant of his Intimacy with the principal Conspirators.

By the Services he boasts of having done his Country, it is to be presum'd he means his being instrumental in the Revolution; and for this indeed both his Friends and Enemies will agree he was never rewarded answerably to his Deserts, in this World, tho' no doubt he has e're now reap'd the Fruits of them in the other.

As to *Roswell's* Trial, which is so much inveigh'd against, whatever Severity Judge *Jefferies* may have us'd upon other Occasions, the Prisoner had certainly all the fair Play imaginable here, as he himself acknowledg'd often in the Trial; and particularly in one Place, where he thanks his Lordship for explaining and making out what his Unskilfulness in the Law wou'd not permit him to do; and prays God to reward his Lordship for it. And the Attorney

Attorney General was so far from not endeavouring to prevent the arresting Judgment, that he argued against it strenuously in a Speech, which may be seen in the State Trials, containing four Folio Pages: And after him the Solicitor General maintain'd a very long Argument; and *Roswell* had a Pardon at last. So little Regard has our Author to the Truth of the Facts he relates; but for the Reader's greater Satisfaction, I refer him to the State Trials.

The Case of Blood our Author mentions, is presum'd to be the killing Sir *William Escourt*, a *Wiltshire* Gentleman. If he had named Names, some curious Persons might have made a Trip to *Battersea*, and receiv'd a just Account of that Matter; and notwithstanding that Load of Guilt and Infamy which he endeavours to cast on the Memory of King *Charles* in this Place, the People of the Place where this Accident happen'd, and who were most nearly concern'd in this Business, give a very different Account of it. Nor can it be suppos'd, that a Gentleman, against whom no certain Evidence cou'd be brought of the Fact, and that if it had been never so well prov'd, cou'd but have amounted to Manslaughter, wou'd have acknowledg'd himself guilty of Murder, and put himself in a worse Condition than if he had been convicted; especially when he was rich, and apprehended to be disaffected; neither of these using to be great Inducements to a Court to pardon Offenders. But any Story, how vile or improbable soever, or wherever pick'd up, must be look'd upon as Ground sufficient to asperse the Memory of King *Charles II.* though, to use an Expression of the Bishop's, *so infamous a Practice must derive a lasting Disgrace on the Author of such detested Calumnies.*

The Story of a Breach between the King and the Duke has very little Appearance of Probability, it being said to be contriv'd at the Lady *Portsmouth's*, with whom the Duke was in very good Terms; and he wou'd probably have made her sensible of his Resentment, and all that are said to be concern'd in it, if it were true; whereas none were more in his Favour great Part of his Reign: Nor does this well agree with what our Author tells us immediately after, that the King express'd great Kindness for the Duke in his Illness, and resign'd his Crown to him with much Satisfaction; which, by the Way, seems also to confute that Report we meet with so frequently in our Author, that the King never lov'd him. Nor does the King seem ever to be in less Want of Money, or less to need a Parliament, than at this time; tho' the Design of calling one is made the principal Inducement for this intended Separation, or rather Exclusion; for it is insinuated that the Duke of *Monmouth* had some such Hopes given him.

Our Author, in the Account he has given us of Archbishop *Sancroft's* Behaviour in the King's Sickness, viz. That he made a very weighty Exhortation, and us'd a good Degree of Freedom, will be found to have contradicted that Character he has given of his Grace before, as a Man that liv'd the Life of a Recluse at *Lambeth*, but had not the Courage to exert his Talents upon any Occasion. Neither he nor Bishop *Kenn*, if we may believe our Author's Relation, left any Means unattempted to procure his Majesty to declare he dy'd in the Faith of the Church of *England*, however ungrateful this might be to the Successor, whose Accession they expected every Moment. It is a little amazing, in

a History that was so often revis'd, and so long deliberated upon, we should meet with such a Multitude of Contradictions; especially when the Author professes so great a Regard to Truth, and the Instruction of Mankind, and appeals to God for the Truth of what he writes.

The End of the Third Book.





AN
EXAMINATION
OF
Bishop *BURNET*'s
HISTORY of his Own Times.

BOOK IV.

ABRIDGMENT.



HE Reign of King *James* the Second begun, our Author observes, with great Advantages; but they were so ill improv'd, that this mighty Prince, supported by vast Fleets and Armies, much Treasure and powerful Alliances, was at once irrecoverably lost, through the want of Judgment and Courage.

R r r 2

Our

An EXAMINATION of

Our Author having been beyond Sea most part of his Reign, says, he may have missed some inconsiderable Transactions, but his Intelligence was so good, that nothing of Importance, he thinks, has escap'd him; and as he had met with ill Usage, he should watch over his Pen so carefully, as not to be biass'd by it: He should be tender also in aggravating the Errors of this Prince, remembering how much he was once in his Favour, and how highly oblig'd by him; and indeed he must principally charge his Errors; he tells us, on his Religion, and those who had the Management of his Conscience, his Priests, and his *Italian* Queen.

His Education was much neglected on Account of the Civil Wars, and he had a very indifferent Governor appointed him, our Author observes, namely, Sir *John Berkley*, afterwards Lord *Berkley*, who was a bold insolent Man, and thought to incline to Popery. This Prince, our Author adds, was more in his Mother's Favour than either of his Brothers, and she was so set on making Profelytes, hoping, that *the saving of a Soul would cover a Multitude of Sins*, that it is not to be doubted, but she used all her Arts to bring him over to her Religion, though all in vain, as this Prince told our Author.

He had great Advantages by being bred under *Turenne*, who used to say of him, he was the greatest Prince, and like to be the best General of his Time, but he soon fell into Amours and Vice, and lost the Courage which appear'd in his Youth; and either he never was that brave Man, or great Captain he was so cry'd up for, or his Age and Affairs wrought a very unusual Change in him: He arrived at great Skill in the Marine Affairs, and governed them after he laid down his Commands; and for the last three Years of his Brother's Reign, the Government of the Kingdom was wholly in his Hands, we are told.

At

At his Accession, as there were few Tears shed for the late King, so there were no Acclamations of Joy for the present.

His Promises to maintain the Church and State in his first Speech to the Council were much magnified, and the Pulpits were full of it: The common Expression was, *we have now the Word of a King, and a Word never yet broken.*

In the Addresses that came from every part of *England*, the highest Encomiums were made on the late King, with Assurances of Loyalty and Fidelity to this, and shewing they entertained no Fears or Jealousies of his future Administration.

The Earl of *Rochester*, soon after the King's Accession, was made Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Clarendon* Privy Seal, and Lord *Halifax* President of the Council; and the Earl of *Sunderland* was taken into Favour, in order to balance the Earl of *Rochester*, who became exceeding violent and boisterous upon his Advancement, we are told.

Orders were sent to the Lords of the Treasury, our Author observes, to levy the Customs, notwithstanding those Duties expir'd with the King's Life, which he thinks did not well agree with the King's Promises, for maintaining Liberty and Property, and Endeavours were used with the Merchants to induce them to refuse the Payment of them. A Proclamation was also issued for the Payment of the Excise, which, he saith, was no less illegal, and gave but a melancholy Prospect of what the People were to expect in this Reign. The Whigs were but coldly receiv'd at Court, and the King gave out, our Author says, he would employ none, but such as would serve him without Reserve: The second *Sunday* after his Majesty's Accession he went publickly to Mass, to the Surprise of all, and dispatch'd *Caryl* to *Rome* with Letters to the Pope.

The King pretended at first to carry it high towards the Court of *France*, but the *French* King told the Duke of *Villeroy*, who told it to young *Rouvigny*, who told it our Author, that notwithstanding this blustering, the King of *England* would take his Money as well as his Brother. His Majesty gave out, that he would maintain friendly Correspondence with the Prince of *Orange* and the States, and because *Chudleigh* the Envoy had affronted the Prince, he recall'd him, and sent *Shelton* in his room.

The King at first promis'd the Queen and his Priests, we are told, that he would see Mrs. *Sidley* no more, though he had several Children by her, and spoke much against Lewdness and Drunkenness: He spent several Hours every Day in the Council, the Treasury, and the Admiralty, whereupon People used to say, *we should now have a Reign of Action, and not of Sloth and Luxury like the last.* But though the King sent Mrs. *Sidley* from her Lodgings at *Whitehall*, he still kept a secret Correspondence with her, our Author says; however, he began his Reign with some fair *Appearances*.

The Prince of *Orange* apprehending the King would demand his delivering up the Duke of *Monmouth*, he dismissed him his Court, and the Duke retir'd to *Brussels*; whereupon those about him insinuated, that the Prince by casting him off had cancell'd all former Obligations, and therefore advised him to set up for himself, and become the Deliverer of his Country and his Friends, who would probably be ill used now for adhering to him; and some were sent over to *England* to try how the Nation was disposed to an Insurrection. Our Author in particular was sounded by them, though he thinks nothing was proposed to him, which brought him under any Danger from concealing it; and he did

did not think, that Fears, and Dangers, and some illegal Acts, could justify an Insurrection: He apprehended also it would be so ill supported, that it would precipitate their Ruin, and therefore he dissuaded all Persons from being concern'd in such Designs.

A Parliament being summon'd, all Arts were practised to procure a Parliament to the King's Mind, and Complaints came from all Parts of *England* of such Injustice and Violence in the Elections, as never was known before. In the new Charters the Election of Members was taken from the Inhabitants, and restrain'd to the Corporation Men only, who were only such as were acceptable to the Court: In some Places the neighbouring Gentlemen were made Members of the Corporation; and in others, Men who were not so much as known to the Borough. This was practised particularly by the Earl of *Bath* in *Cornwall*, who to secure the Groom of the Stole's Place, put the Officers of the Guards Names into almost every Charter in that Country, so that the King was sure of all the *Cornish* Members; and his Majesty observ'd, that there were not above forty Members, but such as he wish'd for, return'd: They were Men who had neither Parts or Estates, and so there was no Hopes of either working upon their Understandings or their Interests, to prevent their giving up to the King all at once: They seem'd resolv'd to recommend themselves to his Majesty, by putting every Thing in his Power, and ruining those who had voted the Exclusion.

The Duke of *Monmouth*'s Agents took Occasion from these violent Proceedings to inflame their Party: They suggested, that the Parliament was not a true Representative of the Nation, and consequently no Parliament, and that such a Wound was given

to the Constitution, as nothing could remedy but an Insurrection; and though some had resolv'd to petition against these irregular Elections, yet knowing there was a Majority who had been so elected, fair Dealing was not to be expected from them.

The King requir'd the Prince of *Orange* to dismiss all such Officers in the *Dutch* Pay as had adher'd to the Duke of *Monmouth*, for he could not depend upon the Prince's Friendship, while such Men serv'd under him; with which the Prince comply'd in Shew, it seems, but our Author intimates that he continued them in Pay notwithstanding.

The Coronation was perform'd in the Protestant Form on *St. George's* Day, and the King and Queen assisted at all the Prayers, only the King did not receive the Sacrament, as was usual; and as for his Oath, our Author thinks, he either took it with a Resolution not to keep it, or with some secret Reservation in his own Mind. The Crown, he observes, was not fitted to the King's Head, the Canopy broke, and some other small Accidents happen'd, which were taken for ill Omens; and his Son by *Mrs. Sidley* dy'd that Day. The best Thing in *Turner's* Discourse, who preach'd the Coronation Sermon, our Author observes, was part of the History of *Constantius Chlorus*, wherein he took Notice, that *Constantius* look'd upon those to be most faithful to himself, who were truest to their God.

Our Author desir'd to pay his Duty to the King by the Lord *Halifax*, but his Majesty would not see him, and not being allow'd to preach, and observing the Nation was like to fall into great Confusion, and must either be rescued by the Duke of *Monmouth's* Means, or he deliver'd up by an Assembly, who had the Face and Name of a Parliament, he

he thought it best to go Abroad, which his Majesty approv'd of, and so he became a voluntary Exile, which gave him great Credit among the Malecontents, and he made use of it to discourage a desperate Rebellion; for he did not think the King had yet done what would justify it, and they should probably be crush'd, and give a Colour for the keeping up a Standing Army, or bringing over Forces from *France*; but many thought the Constitution so subverted in the late Election of Members, that they were ready to run all Hazards.

R E M A R K S.

How tender our Author has been in relating the Errors and ill Conduct of this Prince, must have been observ'd in a hundred Instances by every Reader, particularly in that Account he has given us of his Shipwreck, when he insinuates that all his Care was to save his Dogs and his Priests, and that he designedly left an hundred Men to perish, and among them several of his Friends and Relations; this will serve as a Specimen how well he watch'd over his Pen, and in what a Light his Majesty's Actions are like to be represented by this unbiass'd Writer.

As to the Character of this Prince, it will be found in the other Parts of the *Review of the History of England*, and therefore need not be repeated here: But how our Author came to affirm that King *Charles* dy'd unlamented, or that the Nation express'd no Joy on the Accession of King *James*, when there are so many still living who cou'd confute him in these Particulars, is a little surprizing, and shews such a Spirit of Contradiction and impotent Malice as is hardly to be parallell'd; for Mr. *Echard* does but speak every Man's Knowledge, when he says, *Sure it is, that since the Murder of his*
Father,

Father, there never was a deeper Sorrow, nor more Tears shed in England, than appear'd upon the first News of the Death of this beloved Monarch K. Charles II. which was look'd upon as the greatest Misfortune and Calamity that cou'd befall the Nation. And as to his affirming there were no Shouts of Joy on the Accession of King James II. *Welwood*, in his *Memoirs*, p. 132. tells us, that upon King Charles's Death, James Duke of York mounted the Throne, all the former Heats and Animosities against him, and even the very Memory of a Bill of Exclusion, seem'd to be now quite forgot, amidst the loud Acclamations of his People at his Accession to the Crown. All the Excuse that can be made for these palpable Mistakes in our Author is, that 'tis probable he convers'd only with Malecontents, and so might look upon their partial Suggestions to be the general Voice of the People.

Had our Author wav'd his hypocritical Pretences to Tenderness, and done but Justice to this Prince, in Consideration of those signal Favours he receiv'd; his own Memory wou'd have been less abhorr'd; but when we see him immediately falling upon him at his Accession, for ordering the Excise and Customs to be levy'd till the Meeting of the Parliament, without acquainting his Reader that this had been the Practice of all his Predecessors, and exclaim against it as an Encroachment on the Peoples Properties; this is so far from a sincere Tenderness, that it sufficiently discovers the Malice of the Writer. As to what the French King told *Villeroy*, that *Villeroy* told *Rouvigny*, which *Rouvigny* told our Author, and he now tells his Readers, there is the highest Probability in the World to believe there is not one Word of Truth in it; not only because it comes thro' so many Hands who were Enemies to his Majesty, but admitting he had Money from France, it is not to be suppos'd that King

wou'd

wou'd make it common Talk, for this was to defeat his own Designs; and I believe there were few of his Subjects so hardy as to dare to reveal his Secrets.

To proceed; this Author continues to insinuate that King *James* was endow'd with no Virtues whatever, all were but *fair Appearances*; which is a further Instance of his Tenderneſs for that Monarch. Had he ſaid, with Mr. *Echard*, that he was diligent, temperate and frugal, of a martial Temper, and had given many Proofs of his Courage, and perfectly underſtood our Naval Affairs, &c. if he had afterwards charg'd him with Designs on our Religion and Liberties, this might have appear'd probable; but to allow him not one good Talent, no tolerable Qualifications, and reſolve all into *Appearances*, is not agreeable with that Tenderneſs he pretends to, or like to obtain Belief.

Our Author is pleas'd to acknowledge he convers'd much with the Duke of *Monmouth's* Agents, who were already plotting the Deſtruction of this King, and let him into their Designs, which he thinks he might very innocently liſten to, and adviſe them in, and incur no Censure, as to his Want of Allegiance, tho' he never reveal'd theſe reaſonable Diſcourſes to his Majeſty; but it is a little amazing that he cou'd have the Confidence, or rather Impudence, at the ſame time to deſire to be introduc'd to his Majeſty, and pay his Duty (as he calls it) to him, when he acknowledges himſelf ſo defective in Point of Duty, as to converſe with thoſe Men who at that time were contriving his Majeſty's Deſtruction: And as he was not entirely ignorant of this Writer's Practices, ſurely he expreſs'd great Indulgence to him, when he ſuffer'd him to go Abroad, and ſhew'd no other Reſentment of his paſt as well as preſent ſeditious Behaviour.

The

The next impudent and most audacious Falshood, is in relation to the Election of Members of Parliament; where he tells us, that in all Parts of *England* such Injustice and Violence was us'd to procure Persons to be elected who were in the Interest of the Court, as had never been known before: When the Truth is, there never was, since the time that Parliaments began, a freer and more unanimous Election, as hundreds that are now living can testify; and tho' he has the Assurance to tell us they were all Beggars and Blockheads, not one of the five hundred excepted, I shall take the Liberty of reciting a Paragraph out of *Echard*, which sufficiently confutes both these Calumnies, and must make our Author's Friends blush for him, if they are not, like him, Proof against all Shame or Conviction. The Passage is in Mr. *Echard's History of England*, p. 1056. where he says, The Elections were generally carried on and compleated with the most uncommon Coolness, Discretion and Unanimity; and notwithstanding the unjustifiable modelling so many Corporations since the last Parliament, there never was a House of Commons more able and more industrious in preserving the Happiness of the King, the Nation, and the Establish'd Religion: It consisted, for the most part, of the late prevailing Party, but of the richest and wisest Men of the Kingdom, among whom there were fifty five of noble Families, ninety five Baronets, and ninety six Knights, and the rest were commonly Gentlemen of the best Interest, Credit and Knowledge in their Countries; especially those that were elected for Counties: Those for the City of *London* and the two Universities, were all of the same Party; the former were, Sir *John Moor*, Sir *William Pritchard*, Sir *Samuel Dassewood*, and Sir *Peter Rich*; the *Cantabrigians* were, Sir *Thomas Exton*, and Dr. *Robert Brady*; the *Oxonians*

Oxonians were, Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, and Dr. *Charles Perrot*, Knight. And further to satisfy the Reader's Curiosity, we shall name forty or fifty who seem'd to have had the greatest Influence in the House, without considering any Party at all, as Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *William Edgerton*, Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Levinus Bennet*, Sir *John Cotton*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Mr. *Edmund Waller*, Sir *William Trumball*, Lord *Preston*, Sir *John Lowther*, Sir *Christopher Musgrave*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sergeant *Maynard*, Sir *Winston Churchill*, Mr. *Ralph Freeman*, the honourable *John Verney*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, Lord *Castleton*, Sir *Henry Munson*, the honourable *Charles Bertie*, Sir *Jacob Ashley*, Sir *Nevil Cariline*, Sir *William Cook*, Sir *Nicholas L' Estrange*, Sir *John Femwick*, Sir *Roger L' Estrange*, Sir *William Blacket*, Mr. *Theophilus Oglethorp*, Sir *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Thomas Clarges*, Mr. *Henry Wallop*, Sir *John Trevor*, Mr. *Thomas Glenham*, Lord *Huntington*, Sir *Henry Beddingfield*, Sir *John Bruce*, the honourable *Heneage Finch*, Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, Mr. *William Garraway*, Sir *Roger Cave*, the honourable *Thomas Coventry*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Lord *Cornbury*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *John Talbot*, Sir *Willoughby Hickman*, Sir *Thomas Jennour*, Mr. *William Williams*, Sir *Christopher Wren*, Mr. *Robert Foley*, Sir *Michael Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Barnardiston*, Sir *John Nicholas*, &c.

These are some of the Gentlemen our Author represents as having neither Sense or Substance: But shall such a Body of Men, of the greatest Quality and Figure among the Commons of *England*, be thus vilely aspers'd, without raising a suitable Indignation in every Man that reads him?

Must not the Credit of this Writer sink, and his Authority be for ever blasted, who has related such notorious Falshoods, and attempted to destroy the Characters of five hundred Gentlemen at once, so well

well known to the present Generation? It is observable also, that he calls them *the Face and Name of a Parliament*; whereas if they were no Parliament, they were an illegal Assembly, and all their Acts, publick and private, void; and yet we do not find one of them declar'd so by any Act since the Revolution: What mad Work would he make, if his Insinuations were attended to? Whenever any Elections are not suitable to our Humours, we are, according to him, to look upon ourselves as under no manner of Obligation to submit to the Parliament, or obey any Laws they shall make.

But methinks the Addresses that came from all Parts of the Kingdom, congratulating the King's Accession, and that extravagant Loyalty and Zeal which this Writer tells us all People express'd towards his Majesty, at the Beginning of his Reign, must render all indirect Practices in the Election of Members perfectly needless; and indeed, according to his accusom'd Method, he chuses to keep in Generals, and does not vouchsafe to give us one Instance of that Violence and Injustice which he so loudly exclaims against, or so much as suggests there was any Bribery practis'd.

ABRIDGMENT.

Argyle still continued his Design of making an Insurrection in *Scotland*, and having met with a zealous rich Widow at *Amsterdam*, who furnish'd him with ten thousand Pounds, he bought Arms and Ammunition to go upon that Enterprize; the Duke of *Monmouth* would have gone with him, but *Argyle* did not offer him the Command, but on the contrary, put him on making a Diversion in *England* at the same time; which *Ferguson*, the Lord *Grey*, and the Lady *Wentworth*, who follow'd the Duke to *Brussels*, were very zealous for: The Duke

and she satisfy'd themselves, the Bishop tells us, that his being married to the Duchess before he was capable of making a Choice, tho' he was above the Age of Consent the Law requires, that Marriage was void, and the Lady *Wentworth* had so possess'd him with her Enthusiastical Conceits, that they fancied their living together was approv'd by God: By this small Council was *Monmouth* push'd upon that desperate Enterprize of landing in the *West* of *England*, contrary to his own Sense of Things; so he pawn'd his Jewels, and bought up Arms, which were pretended to be shipp'd for *Spain*. The Night before our Author left *London* he was told, he says, that the King had receiv'd Advice that *Argyle* was landed in *Scotland*; whereupon he thought it was fit to make Haste for fear he should be apprehended on Suspicion of his holding Correspondence with Traitors. *Argyle* having lodg'd the Arms he carried over in a Castle, they were surpriz'd by the King's Troops: Whereupon *Argyle* gave all for lost, and was soon after taken Prisoner, with Sir *John Cockran*, *Aylloff*, and *Rumbald*, with many other of his Followers. Little Blood was spilt in the Field, nor much in the Way of Justice afterwards. The Earl of *Argyle*, at his Execution, justify'd all he had done, and dy'd with great Serenity, our Author says; *Aylloff* design'd to have prevented the Executioner, and stabb'd himself several times with a Penknife, but none of his Wounds being mortal, he was sent up to *London*. *Rumbald* of the *Rye-house*, who was taken in *Argyle's* Rebellion, at his Execution, confess'd he had heard many Propositions at *West's* Chamber, about killing the late King and the Duke, and had said thereupon, that it might be easily effected at his House at the *Rye*, and there was some Discourse how to manage it, but it was not resolv'd on, he says: The People, he apprehended, had a Right

Right to assert their Liberty, and restrain their Prince; but our Author tells us, he denied the Truth of the Conspiracy. Sir *John Cockran* had a rich Father, who offering the Priests five thousand Pounds, they procur'd his Son's Pardon, our Author tells us. *Aloff*, when he was brought to *London*, refusing to discover any Thing to the King, the King ask'd him if he did not know it was in his Power to pardon him; to which he reply'd, as our Author tells us, that *though it was in his Power, it was not in his Nature to pardon*, and he was executed.

The Parliament of *Scotland* being call'd, the Duke of *Queensbury* being High Commissioner, gave them Assurances, that the King would never alter their Religion; in return whereof, they gave his Majesty the same Revenue that had been settled on King *Charles* the Second, with some additional Taxes: The Test was confirm'd by this Parliament, and the Privy Council empower'd to tender it to whom they saw fit: And by another Act, all Persons were requir'd to answer such Questions as the Council should demand of them, on pain of High Treason.

Our Author takes Notice here of *Oates's* whipping, after his Conviction of Perjury, which was thought too little a Punishment, he says, if he was guilty, and too much, if he was innocent; but he, who was an Original in all Things, bore it with a Constancy which amaz'd all who saw it, and rather rais'd his Reputation, than sunk it. *Dangerfield* also, another Evidence of the Popish Plot, was found guilty of Perjury, and whipt, and happen'd to be kill'd by a zealous Gentleman, who run him into the Eye with his Cane when he was in the Executioner's Hands, for which he was afterwards hang'd.

The Parliament of *England* being assembled, the same Revenue was granted his Majesty for Life, as had been settled on King *Charles* the Second; and the Commons shew'd such a Readiness to give, that the King sent them a Message, he desir'd no more Money that Session.

The Reversing the Attainder of the Lord *Stafford* was now proposed in the House of Lords, upon *Oates's* being convicted of Perjury; however, the Lords were unwilling to reverse it, and yet they thought fit to do Justice to the Popish Lords in the *Tower*, our Author tells us, and the Earl of *Danby*, and discharg'd them, upon an Intimation from the Commons, that they would not proceed in the Impeachment.

In the mean while the Duke of *Monmouth* landed at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire* with but eighty two Persons; and upon a general Report of it, without any other Evidence, an Act of Attainder passed against him, and five thousand Pounds was set upon his Head: After which the Parliament rose, and our Author thinks it no small Happiness to the Nation, that they had done no more Mischief. *Monmouth's* Manifesto, our Author observes, was a dull malicious Paper, drawn up by *Ferguson*, charging the King with the burning of *London*, the Popish Plot, *Godfrey's* Murder, the Earl of *Essex's* Death, and the poisoning the late King, and set forth, that the King's Religion made him incapable of the Crown: The seizing the Charters also, and all the hard Things done in the last Reign, were laid to his Charge: The Nation was also appeal'd to for a free Parliament, for this they did not look upon as such: The Duke of *Monmouth* soon found Men enough for all the Arms he brought, and had the whole Country open to him almost a Fortnight, which Time he spent in exercising and animating

his Men, and by his obliging Behaviour won all their Hearts, but he soon found the Misfortune of being at the Head of undisciplin'd Men. The Lord *Grey* also discover'd himself to be a Coward, our Author says; for being sent out with a Party, upon meeting of a few of the Militia he ran away, which *struck* the Duke, for he had design'd him to command the Horse; and *Fletcher*, another Officer, whom he depended on, having taken a Countryman's Horse, who had brought in a considerable Party, without his Consent, the Countryman gave *Fletcher* such abusive Language, that *Fletcher* shot him; whereupon the Duke was forc'd to send *Fletcher* a Ship-board, the People being enrag'd at the Murder, and so the Duke lost his Service. Our Author thinks the Duke committed a great Error, in not advancing immediately to *Exeter* or *Bristol*, which would have gain'd him a Reputation, and he might have found much Wealth in those Cities; besides, the King would not have had an Opportunity of bringing his Troops from *Scotland* and *Holland* Time enough to have oppos'd him. The Prince of *Orange* upon this Occasion, we are told, sent over the *Scotch* Regiments with great Readiness, and offer'd to come over in Person with a greater Force, but the King had no mind to be too much oblig'd to the Prince, or to let him into his Counsels; nor durst his Majesty accept the Assistance the *French* offer'd him, for fear of disoblighing the *English*; but he thinks the King could not have made a worse Choice of a General than he did; for the Earl of *Feversham*, whom he pitch'd upon, was a *Frenchman*, and his Religion not much relied on: He was an honest brave Man indeed, and good natur'd, but extreemly weak, and every Step he made was like to prove fatal to the King's Service: His Intelligence was so bad, that *Monmouth* had like to have surpriz'd

priz'd him and his Forces in their Beds, if his Guides had not missed their Way ; but upon this Accident, the King's Forces taking the Alarm, *Monmouth's* small Body of Horse all run away at the first Charge, which was imputed to the Lord *Grey*, but the Foot stood much better than could have been expected ; about a thousand of them were kill'd in the Action, and about fifteen hundred taken, the whole Number amounting to between five and six thousand. The Duke of *Monmouth* fled too soon, he thinks, for a Man of his Character, and having chang'd Cloaths with a Shepherd, was taken next Day in a Field, having cover'd himself in a Heap of Straw. He wrote to the Queen and Queen Dowager to intercede for his Life in very abject Terms, which shew'd a great Meanness, our Author thinks, when the King's Temper as well as his Interest made it impossible for him to hope for it : He made new and unbecoming Submissions on his being brought before the King, intimating a Readiness even to change his Religion, but he was order'd to be executed two Days after. The Account our Author gives us of his Execution, is very little different from what we have often had already. He adds indeed, that he begg'd with great Earnestness to live one Day longer, which the King was blam'd for denying him ; but this gave great Occasion to believe, that the Duke had some Dependance on what the Astrologers had foretold of him, (*viz.*) *That if he outliv'd that Day, he might meet with better Fate* : He gave the Hangman but half his Reward, but told him, if he cut off his Head cleverly, and not in such a butcherly manner as he did the Lord *Russel's*, his Man would give him the rest : The Executioner trembled, and gave him two or three Strokes, without cutting his Head off, and then flung down the Axe, we are told, but the Sheriffs

forc'd him to take it up and finish his Work; and with three or four Strokes more he sever'd his Head from his Body: The Duke was soft and gentle to Excess, he says, but too easy: He was sincere and good-natur'd, and understood the Art of War, but was too much given to Pleasure.

The Lord *Grey* was pardon'd, compounding with great Sums for his Life, of whom, our Author says, the Earl of *Rocheſter* had for his Share sixteen thousand Pounds, and was made an Evidence against the Lord *Brandon*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and Mr. *Hampden*, upon Condition they should not suffer. Mr. *Hampden*, he says, begg'd his Life with that Meanness he was ever after ashamed of, and, he thinks, brought that Disorder upon him, which occasion'd him to cut his Throat ten Years after.

The King was now so well settled on his Throne, our Author observes, upon the quelling these ill concerted Rebellions, that no ordinary Mismanagement could have ruin'd him; but his own Temper, the Fury of some of his Ministers, and the Maxims of his Priests, concurr'd to make him lose such Advantages, as were never to be retriev'd. Colonel *Kirk* was become so savage, he says, by the Neighbourhood of the *Moors* at *Tangier*, that he caused several of the Prisoners taken at *Sedgmore* to be hang'd up at *Taunton*, some Days after the Battel, without any Form of Law, drinking Healths, and calling for Musick at the same Time in a most brutal manner, for which *Kirk* was only chid; and *some said*, he had a particular Order for military Executions, and so was only reprimanded for the Manner of it. But *Jefferies's* Behaviour, he says, exceeded whatever had been heard of in a civiliz'd Nation: He was either perpetually drunk, or in a Rage, more like a Fury than a Judge;

a Judge; and when he had wheedled the Prisoners to plead guilty, he hang'd up many of them immediately, without allowing them a Minute's Time to say their Prayers; and in all he executed about six hundred Persons. The King having daily an Account of his Proceedings, took Pleasure in relating them to the foreign Ministers, and at Table, calling it *Jefferies's Campaign*: When *Jefferies* return'd he made him a Peer, which our Author thinks inconsistent with the Character of a Judge.

We are next entertain'd with an Account of the Trials of Mrs. *Gaunt* and Mrs. *Lisle*, for harbouring some of the Rebels. *Gaunt*, he tells us, was a mighty pious charitable Woman, and there was no other Witness against her but the Person she harbour'd, besides her Maid, which, our Author thinks, was not legal Evidence, and reflects upon the Judge for directing the Jury to convict her, especially there being no Proof that she knew the Person she harbour'd was a Rebel: The Woman dy'd with great Constancy, he says, and rejoic'd that she was made *the first Martyr for her Religion*. Mrs. *Lisle's* Husband had been one of the Regicides, and was kill'd by three desperate *Irishmen* at *Lausanne*, in Hopes to make their Fortune. The Night after *Monmouth's* Defeat, *Hickes*, a violent Dissenting Preacher, and *Nelthorp*, escap'd from the Army, and came to her House for Shelter: *Hickes* told her the Occasion, whereupon she immediately order'd her Servant to give an Information against them to a Justice of Peace, and in the mean while to suffer them to escape; but on a sudden the House was surrounded by a Party, who took both them and her for harbouring them. *Jefferies* had procur'd a Promise from the King not to pardon her: There was no Proof that she knew the Persons were Rebels,

nor were they in any Proclamation; whereupon *Jefferies* himself deposed, that they had confessed they were with *Monmouth*, and after he had been a Witness, our Author thinks, he ought not to have been her Judge; neither were the Persons found in her House yet convicted. However, *Jefferies* charg'd the Jury in a violent manner to bring her in guilty, and turn'd them back twice; but the Jury being threaten'd with an Attaint, they at length brought her in guilty: She could obtain no other Favour than to be beheaded, and expressed great Joy that she suffer'd for an *Act of Charity and Piety*.

Goodenough, who had been Under-Sheriff to *Cornish*, to save himself, offer'd to swear that *Cornish* was in the Lord *Russel's* Plot, and that *Ramsay* had not discover'd all he knew; whereupon *Ramsay* was glad to become another Evidence against him, for fear the Government should have resent'd his Concealment, and thereupon *Cornish* was apprehended, and executed, within the Space of a Week. *Pen* told our Author, that the King was much to be pitied, who was hurried into these bloody Measures, by the impetuous and cruel Temper of *Jefferies*; but our Author imputes it in a great Measure to the Priests, and to the King's own Inclinations; and observes, it gave a general Horror to the Nation.

Our Author proceeds to give us an Account of the Earls of *Perth* and *Melford's* altering their Religion, and having the Administration in *Scotland* committed to them, and the Duke of *Queensberry's* being turn'd out of the Treasury there, and disgrac'd: The Earl of *Halifax* also refusing to vote for a Repeal of the Test, was turn'd out, we are told, and the Lord *Sunderland* made President of the Council in his room, and continued Secretary of State: The Earl of *Clarendon* was made Lord Lieutenant

tenant of *Ireland*, in the room of the Duke of *Ormond*, but the Army there was put under the Command of the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and Sir *Charles Porter* was made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, in the room of the Archbishop of *Armagh*, who was not thought compliant enough.

R E M A R K S.

The good Bishop did well to make haste out of *England* on the News of *Argyle's* landing, for if half the Evidence had appear'd against him of his Correspondence with the Rebels, which he acknowledges in this History, it might have been difficult for his Holiness to have escap'd the Halter, how light soever he may make of that Matter.

He for once appears so just to acknowledge, that very little Blood was spilt upon *Argyle's* Defeat; hardly any but outlaw'd Traytors were executed after that Rebellion; and surely *Aylloff* could never have less Reason to tell King *James*, that it was not in his Nature to pardon, when most of the Rebels were discharg'd, even without a Trial. I make no manner of doubt, but this Speech was made for *Aylloff*, by our Reverend Author, or some of his Party: The Man must be fool-hardy, as well as wonderous ungrateful, to make such a Reply, when the King shew'd a Disposition to pardon him, if he would have done any Thing to merit it.

Rumbold, we are told, deny'd the Conspiracy, but all that I can find he deny'd, was, that the Conspirators had actually concerted all their Measures for assassinating the King and the Duke at his House, which may possibly be true, because the King return'd from *New-Market* a Week sooner than they expected. But our Author tells us, he acknowledged Resistance to be lawful; that he had heard many

An EXAMINATION of

Propositions at *West's* Chambers for killing the King and the Duke; that he himself had acquainted the Conspirators it might easily be done at his House, and that they had thereupon enter'd into a Consultation how to manage the Assassination; and now when we find this Man actually taken in Rebellion, and avowing his Principles to the last, I believe it will remain a Doubt with very few, whether he and his Accomplices did not only imagine and consult, but actually resolve to assassinate the King and Duke, whenever they should have an Opportunity; and if this be admitted, it does not seem very material, whether they had concerted *all* their Measures to effect it. This will very little lessen their Guilt; nor can I apprehend what our Author would have us understand, when he says, *Rumbold* deny'd the Truth of the Conspiracy, unless because he deny'd some minute Circumstances, he would therefore have us infer he deny'd the whole, notwithstanding this plain Confession of all the material Parts of the Conspiracy.

As to the Methods us'd to procure Sir *John Cockran's* Pardon, I must caution the Reader not to give the more Credit to this Relation, or any other of the like Nature, because he does not see them confuted in these Remarks. It is impossible to disprove our Author in every Particular, through so great a Variety of Transactions; but having shewn the Falshood of so many Particulars, and upon what very slender Evidence he takes upon him to relate any thing that may tend to asperse the Court, it must render every Story of this kind much suspected, where there is nothing more than this good Bishop's Authority to support it.

None I believe at this Day doubt *Oates's* being guilty of Perjury, and though many Persons had been executed upon his Evidence, and consequently he

he had been guilty of so many Murders, yet this is a sort of Murder that our Law has not yet provided a suitable Punishment for, though it be Murder of the blackest Dye; and therefore our Author need not have reflected upon the Government for inflicting no greater Punishment on this notorious Criminal. He was indeed an Original: It could never have enter'd into the Heart of Man to believe, that one who had taken Holy Orders, and appear'd in the Habit of a Priest of the Church of *England*, could have arriv'd at such a Degree of Villany, as, without Compulsion, to become guilty of premeditated Murders, which might be the true Reason no severer Provision is made against it in our Law; and we see that the Parliament after the Revolution were so far convinc'd of his Perjuries, that notwithstanding all his pretended Services and Sufferings, they would not reverse the Judgment against him, though the Court thought fit to allow him a Pension of three hundred Pounds *per Annum*, which he enjoy'd to his dying Day.

Upon reading our Author, I did apprehend, as I believe many others have done, that the Bill for reversing the Lord *Stafford's* Attainder had never pass'd the House of Lords, but looking into other Relations of that Matter, I find it had a very easy Passage through that House, and was read twice in the House of Commons; but it being sent down but in *June*, and the Rebellions in *England* and *Scotland* happening at the same Time, and the Parliament being suddenly prorogu'd on these Accounts the 2d of *July*, the Bill never came to a third reading; and I'm sure our Author who has represented that House of Commons so very obsequious to the Court, could never believe a Bill of this Nature would have been thrown out by them. The Reader will observe a great deal of Craft us'd by the Bishop
to

to induce him to believe it was rejected by the Lords, but how he could say that the Lords did Justice to the Popish Lords in discharging them, when they were involv'd in the same Guilt with the Lord *Stafford*, and yet seem to applaud them for not yielding to reverse the Lord *Stafford's* Attainder, is a little mysterious.

The Message that was sent by his Majesty to the Commons, namely, *that he desired no more Money*, is surely the only one of the Kind that was ever communicated from the Throne. Whatever Designs his Majesty might have afterwards of rendring himself absolute, it is evident he had no such Views at this Time; for can it be imagin'd, when he had a Parliament so exceeding obsequious as this is represented to be, he should not endeavour to procure a greater Revenue settled upon the Crown, or to replenish his Treasury, in order to render himself independent of his People? Among all his Faults it must be allow'd he husbanded the Nation's Money, and raised fewer Taxes in proportion to the Time he reign'd, and the Exigencies of his Government, than any other Prince or State in *Europe*; and nothing more provok'd him to alter his Measures, than that Perverseness and Obstinacy that appear'd in the Dissenters, and those Rebellions they fomented in the beginning of his Reign. There is all the Reason in the World to believe, if he had not discover'd that mutinous Spirit in the Dissenters, and some false Brethren of the Church of *England*, of our Author's Class, he had been as glorious a Monarch, and we as happy a People, as any upon the Face of the Earth.

Neither the King nor the Duke acted so prudently upon this Occasion, it seems, as our Author would have done in their Circumstances; for tho' he was not bred to Arms, yet he had a Genius so much su-

perior to the rest of Mankind, that he was Master of every Science at first Sight, without going thro' those tedious Courses which other dull Mortals find necessary to accomplish themselves: But surely nothing is so common as to observe little meddling Pretenders attempting to direct their Superiors, and shewing us that in their Opinions this or that ought to have been done, when they are not really qualify'd to determine the most trivial Affairs: We see our Author, before he was nineteen, an eminent Divine, and a consummate Statesman, and, though he was never in a Sea-Fight, or made a Campaign in his Life, able to direct all the Generals and Admirals of his Time: They may properly therefore be call'd, BISHOP BURNET's TIMES, when it is evident he was so much superior to all his Coteremporaries!

As to the Money pretended to be extorted from the Lord Grey, for his Pardon, this seems to be pure secret History, we having no other Authority for it but this credulous Bishop's; and it is much more likely that his becoming an Evidence, and making some Discoveries, were the Inducements that prevail'd with the Court to pardon him.

If Colonel Kirk was that barbarous Man our Historians make him, (which I really think wants Confirmation,) it is amazing that the pious King William shou'd employ him, and prefer him, and that he was never call'd to an Account after the Revolution for such illegal barbarous Facts: No doubt several Things have been much aggravated in relation to Kirk, as well as to Jefferies's Proceedings: We find our Author here positively affirming, that Jefferies caus'd above six hundred Persons to be executed: Whereas Mr. Echard, who has made as much of that Matter as he cou'd, pretends but to two hundred and thirty: And if the Bishop cou'd so far exceed the Bounds of Truth in this Particular,

cular, it is highly probable he has in many others; If he did not forge the Account he gives us himself, it is apparent he took very little Care to inform himself about the Matter. But when he cou'd charge the King (for on him he lays the Blame of all) with causing six hundred Men to be executed, instead of two, we must imagine he had great Tenderness for his Majesty's Reputation, and had a mighty Regard to his Oath. His Friends must excuse us if we do not give all that Credit to some other Facts as the Word and Oath of a Protestant Bishop may seem to demand; and notwithstanding he charges the King with taking great Pleasure in giving a Relation of these Executions, some Historians of much better Credit say that the King was highly displeas'd with them.

Had our Author but given himself the least Trouble in the Matter, he wou'd not, for his Reputation sake, have reported Facts so notoriously false as he has done in relation to Mrs. *Gaunt's* Trial; he says, there was never a Person who cou'd depose any thing against her, but the Man she harbour'd; that her Maid was brought for a second Witness, who knew nothing of the matter: Whereas *Burton*, whom she assisted, with his Wife and Daughter, were the Witnesses against her; nor did they testify that she harbour'd him in her House at all, but that she found him Money, and provided a Vessel to carry him beyond Sea; which Service she had perform'd for many other Traitors and Rebels; and these are the Acts of Piety she boasted of: And it appear'd that *Burton* was charg'd in a Proclamation as a Traitor, and that Mrs. *Gaunt* knew of it when she assisted him to make his Escape.

Nelthorpe also, whom Mrs. *Lisle* harbour'd, was in a Proclamation, tho' our Author affirms he was not: Mrs. *Lisle* also acknowledges that she knew at that time

time he came to her House that he was in a Proclamation; and as to that Pretence, that Mrs. *Lisle* sent to inform a Justice of Peace of the Rebels being at her House, she never made this a Part of her Defence. On the contrary, it appear'd that they came to her House the Day before, supp'd with her, and lay there all Night, before the Party surpriz'd them; and when the Officer enquir'd for them, she deny'd they were in her House.

As to Mrs. *Gaunt*'s comforting her self at her Execution, that she dy'd the first Martyr to her Religion; unless she look'd upon Treason to be an Act of Religion, it is not easy to apprehend what she meant by it.

Mrs. *Lisle*, it seems, also had great Satisfaction that she dy'd for performing an Act of Piety and Charity; so that it seems the Godly esteem the harbouring of Traitors to be very meritorious, tho' they happen to be so unfortunate to live in a Country where the Law makes it High Treason, and makes no Distinction between the Rebel and those who support and maintain him.

A B R I D G M E N T.

When our Author went beyond Sea, he first took him a House at *Paris*, where he resided when the *French* King repeal'd the famous Edict of *Nants*; and the King of *England* declaring himself a Papist the same Year, the *Palatinate* coming into the Hands of a Popish Family, and the Duke of *Savoy* persecuting of the *Vandois*, his Protestant Subjects, at the same time, made him look upon this as a very critical Year, and the fifth great Crisis of the Protestant Religion. Great Cruelties, he tells us, were exercis'd upon the *Hugonots* in *France*; they did not proceed against their Lives indeed, but sent Parties of
Dragoons

Dragoons to live upon them at Discretion, which wearied them out so that the Generality of them comply'd with the Government, and chang'd their Religion; Men and Women of all Ages, who refus'd to comply, were stript of all they had, hunted from Place to Place, and kept long from Sleep; many Women were carried into Nunneries, where they were almost starv'd, whipt, and barbarously us'd. Our Author thinks it the most violent Persecution that ever happen'd, and in many respects exceeded them all, both in Inventions of Cruelty, and the long Continuance of it: Our Author travell'd thro' great Part of *France*, he says, to *Geneva*, whereby he became a Witness of it.

From *France* our Author went to *Rome*; the Pope was acquainted who he was the very Day he arriv'd there, and let him know that he would grant him a private Audience; but our Author avoided it, imagining it might make a great Noise. Cardinal *Howard*, and Cardinal *de Eftree*, treated him with great Freedom, he says; Cardinal *Howard* shew'd him all his Letters from *England*, whereby he found they thought their Designs so well laid, that they could not miscarry; but the Cardinal told him that in their Advices to *England*, they propos'd slow and moderate Courses, tho' he said it was probable more violent Measures would be taken.

Our Author us'd such Freedom in Points of Controversy, he says, that Prince *Borghese* let him know that it was time for him to retire; so he return'd into *France* by *Marseilles*, and the *Southern* Provinces, which were then a Scene of Barbarity and Cruelty. The *French* us'd the Protestants who inhabited the Principality of *Orange*, in the same manner they did the Subjects of *France*; tho' this was a Breach of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, of which the King of *England* was Guarantee: Whereupon two Memorials were presented

presented at the *French* Court, complaining of it in very high Terms; but the King wrote the Prince of *Orange* word he did not think fit to declare War for a Thing of such small Importance.

Many of the *French* Refugees fled over to *England* at this time; and King *James* did not only condemn this Persecution, but was very kind and liberal to the Refugees, and order'd a Brief for a charitable Collection for them all over the Nation; whereupon great Sums were gather'd, and well distributed: He also granted them several Immunities; upon which Encouragement there came over to *England* between forty and fifty thousand of them.

The Parliament assembling again, the King propos'd the keeping up a standing Army, and the dispensing with some Officers who had not taken the Test. *Jefferies* was now made Lord Chancellor, in the room of the Lord *Guildford* deceas'd; and beginning to argue in the House of Peers in the same rough manner he had been us'd to on the Bench, he was soon taken down; for when he came to speak among others who were on equal Terms with him, our Author says he was a very contemptible Man.

The Commons unanimously resolv'd on an Address to his Majesty, that he would maintain the Laws, and particularly the Test Acts; but they were willing, they said, to indemnify such Officers as had broken it, and would consider them in the intended Supply. To which the King return'd a very ungracious Answer; which when it came to be debated, tho' the House was in a high Ferment, yet they sent *Cook*, one of their Members, to the Tower, for saying they were *Englishmen*, and were not to be threaten'd: However, they resolv'd to insist upon their Address; and the King finding nothing would be done without he consented to let the Test Acts take Place, prorogued the Parliament.

ment. Those who had voted for the Test were disgrac'd, and turn'd out of their Places; and many of them the King sent for into his Closet, and spoke to them earnestly upon that Subject; but they were not to be wrought upon, either by Threats or Promises: Whereupon he at length dissolv'd the Parliament, tho' our Author still insists that he cou'd not easily have found out five hundred Men so weak, so poor, and so devoted to the Court, as these were.

Our Author proceeds to give an Account of the Lord *Delamere's* Trial, who was charg'd to be in the Conspiracy with *Monmouth*, but the principal Witness proving perjur'd in some Circumstances, he was acquitted.

One half of the Judges, our Author tells us, were now chang'd, in order to procure a Resolution to render the Test-Act wholly ineffectual; and a Prosecution was brought against Sir *Edward Hales*, for the Penalty of 500*l.* for executing an Office, not having taken the Test. The Arguments against him were very feebly manag'd, with a Design to betray the Cause, our Author suggests, and so Judgment was given for him; and his Majesty was declar'd to have the Power of dispensing with any Penal Law, and Men made no Scruple now to take Employments, who were unqualify'd for them, upon the Crown's dispensing with the Penalties in the Test Acts.

Peters, a Jesuit, of a noble Family, but of no great Learning or Virtue, a Man of great Zeal and Assurance, was the Person now most in favour with the King: He apply'd himself chiefly to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and was for some Time directed by him.

The Church Party refusing now to comply with the Measures of the Court, the King began to think

of taking the Dissenters into Favour, and propos'd a universal Toleration. Chief Justice *Herbert*, who went the Western Circuit, after *Jefferies's* bloody one, seem'd to lament the Sufferings of the Nonconformists, and encourag'd them to set up their Conventicles again, which had been discontinued for some Years, and they begun to grow very insolent upon it towards Churchmen, and very obsequious to the Court; while the Clergy of the Church of *England* preach'd boldly against Popery, and manag'd the Argument with that Learning and Judgment, and such Vivacity, as had never appear'd before in our Language: They were much too hard for their Adversaries, which had a remarkable Effect upon the Nation. The Divines who engag'd in this Controversy, were *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tennison*, and *Patrick*; *Sherlock*, *Williams*, *Claget*, *Gee*, *Aldrich*, *Atterbury*, *Whitby*, *Hooper*, and above all these, *Wake*, who having been long in *France* Chaplain to the Lord *Perth*, brought over with him many curious Discoveries, that were both useful and surprizing. This Opposition provok'd the Popish Clergy, and they insinuated, that it argued a want of Duty to treat the King's Religion with such Contempt, and therefore it was resolv'd to proceed with Severity against some Preachers, to deter the rest. Dr. *Sharp*, Rector of *St. Giles's*, a popular Preacher, who had a peculiar Talent of reading his Sermons with much Life and Zeal, was singled out to be made an Example of, on his preaching against some Popish Tenets; the Words he was charg'd with, were not spoken by him, our Author says; however, the Earl of *Sunderland*, without waiting for any Proof of the Matter, sent an Order to the Bishop of *London* in the King's Name to suspend him, which the Bishop represented he could not do, but upon a legal Process; whereupon an illegal Ecclesiastical Commission

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mission was set up. Before these Commissioners the Bishop of *London* was cited to answer his Contempt, in not suspending Dr. *Sharp*: The Bishop excepted to the Authority of the Court, as being contrary to the Act of Parliament, which put down the High Commission; he shew'd also, that he had obey'd the King's Orders as far as legally he could; however the Bishop was suspended *ab Officio*, but they did not touch his Revenues.

Things went much after the same Rate, our Author observes, in *Scotland* as in *England*: The Earl of *Perth* setting up a Popish Chapel in the Court there, the Mob of *Edinburgh* broke into it, and defac'd the Chapel; and if the Earl had not been convey'd away in Disguise, he had probably been pull'd in pieces by them; but the Guards having dispers'd the Mob, one of the principal of them was taken, and executed.

The Earl of *Murray*, another new Convert, was sent down the King's Commissioner to the Parliament of *Scotland*: His Majesty earnestly recommended to them the taking off the Penal Laws and Test, to which they were willing to consent for the King's Life, but the Court, our Author tells us, would not accept of this, whereupon the Parliament was dissolv'd.

The Presbyterians of that Kingdom, though they were now freed from those Severities they had formerly experienc'd, express'd a most unconquerable Aversion to Popery, and some of the Episcopal Clergy about *Edinburgh* also began to oppose it; but they were most of them sunk into Sloth and Ignorance.

In *Ireland*, the Earl of *Tyrconnel* turn'd all the *English* Protestant Officers out of the Army, and brought in *Irish* Papists, which gave the Protestants of *Ireland* terrible Apprehensions. The Earl of *Clarendon*, and the Lord Chancellor *Porter* opposing these

these Proceedings, were recall'd, and *Tyrconnel* was made Lord Lieutenant, and *Fitton* Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, who were both zealous Papists. This alarm'd *England*, but *Father Peters* and the Jesuits were resolv'd to engage the King so far, as to render an Accommodation with his Subjects impracticable, that so the King might think no more of governing by a Parliament, but an Army, and if that should fail him, by the Assistance of *France* and *Irish* Forces.

Our Author here introduces a Story of the Concern the Queen and the Priests were under at his Majesty's continuing his Commerce with Mrs. *Sidley*, whom he had made Countess of *Dorchester*: They prevail'd with his Majesty to send her to *Ireland*, but after a few Months she came over again, and there was the same Familiarity between them as before, of which the Priests were very apprehensive, because she was a bold lively Lady, and always treated them with much Contempt.

The Earl of *Mulgrave*, Lord Chamberlain, appearing indifferent to all Religion, the Priests made an Attempt to convert him, we are told, but while they were arguing for Transubstantiation, he told them, *he had taken much Pains to bring himself to believe in God that made the World, and all Men in it; but it must require no ordinary Force of Argument to bring him to believe that Men could be even with him, and make God again.*

A Priest coming to the Earl of *Middleton* to convince him of Transubstantiation, began thus; *You believe the Trinity*: To which the Earl reply'd, *who told you so? I expected you should have convinced me of your Belief, and not question'd me of my own*; at which the Priest was so confounded, that he could proceed no further. *Kirk* being apply'd to to change his Religion, answer'd, *he was already*

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pre-engag'd, for he promis'd the King of Morocco if ever he changed his Religion, he would turn Mahometan.

But the Person whose Conversion was most aim'd at was the Earl of *Rochester*, of whom the King desir'd he would hear his Priests, to which the Earl consented, if some *English* Divines might be by, and accordingly pitch'd upon Dr. *Patrick* and Dr. *Jane*, King's Chaplains, who were then in waiting. The Priests began the Conference, and when they had done, the Earl told them, if they had nothing stronger to urge, he should not trouble those learned Gentlemen to reply, for he could answer all they had offer'd himself, which he did with much Heat and Spirit, and not without some Scorn; saying, *were these Grounds to persuade Men to change their Religion?* which he repeated often with great Vehemence; whereupon the King broke off the Conference, but the Earl was soon after turn'd out, having a Pension of four thousand Pounds *per Annum* allow'd him, and some other Advantages.

Our Author having rambled about *Europe* above a Year, came at length to *Holland*, where he was taken into the Confidence of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*. In his Travels he observ'd, that no Clergy were so remiss in their Duty as the *English*: The Popish Curates attending on Confessions, and the Multitude of Offices to which they were oblig'd, labour'd in instructing the Youth, and visiting the Sick, and seem'd to make these Things the constant Employment of their Lives: The Ministers of the foreign Churches were perpetually busied in the Duties of their Function, while the Clergy of our Church seem'd very indifferent about them. Reflecting on these Things, our Author says, he resolv'd to retire, and spend his Days in a Course of strict Piety and Devotion, and writing

ting such Books as might be serviceable to Religion; but he was diverted from his pious Intentions, by the Prince of *Orange's* desiring his Attendance in his Court, who consulted him concerning the *English* Affairs.

Our Author discover'd to him, he tells us, a Design of a certain *Savoyard* to seize his Person, and carry him away by Sea to *France*; whereupon the States order'd a Guard to attend the Prince, who us'd to go out with two or three Servants before: His Belief of Predestination, our Author thinks, made him more adventurous than was necessary. The Education of this Prince had been much neglected, we are told: He hated Constraint and Business of all sorts; nor could he endure Talking or House-Games, but seem'd to give himself up to hunting; and the depressing *France* was the governing Passion of his whole Life: *He had no Vice but of one sort, in which he was very cautious and secret*: His Way was obliging enough to the *Dutch*, but he was not complying enough with the Temper of the *English*: His Coldness and Slowness was contrary to the Genius of this People.

The Princess of *Orange* was of a majestick Mien, which created Respect; a Lady of great Knowledge and noble Expression: She had a Sweetness that charm'd, and such Piety and Virtue, as made her a Pattern to all that knew her: The King made her no Allowance to support the Dignity of a King's Daughter: She manag'd her privy Purse so well, that she became eminent in her Charities, and what she gave was with a good Grace: She read History and Divinity much, till a Humour fell into her Eyes, and then she set herself to work with that Diligence, as made her Ladies ashamed of Idleness: She knew little of *English* Affairs, till our Author instructed her in them, and then she shew-

ed a true Judgment in all the Reflections she made.

Our Author enter'd into a Conference, he tells us, with the Prince concerning the Church of *England*. The Prince said, he lik'd our Worship and the Government of the Church better than a Parity, and all that he should desire to bring us to, would be a Toleration: He wish'd the Surplice, and Cross in Baptism, and bowing to the Altar might be laid aside.

Hereby our Author became furnish'd with an Opportunity of discovering the Prince's Sense of Things to his Friends in *England*: He advis'd the Prince to put the Fleet in *Holland* into a good Condition; and he also mov'd the Prince and Princess to write to *England* in behalf of the Bishop of *London*. Great Notice was taken, we are told, of our Author's free Access to the Prince's Court, and the King reflected on him in several Letters, and bid them have a Care of him as a dangerous Man. But the Prince was surpriz'd, when he found our Author held, that every Error in Government would not warrant a Breach with the King, nothing less than striking at the Foundation; for his Majesty had made them look upon him as a Rebel in his Heart, and now the Prince saw how far he was from it.

He took the Liberty to propose to the Princess, that if ever she came to the Crown of *England*, she should resign all her Authority to the Prince, which she very readily comply'd with: The Prince hereupon said, though he had been married nine Years, he had never had the Confidence to require that of her, which our Author easily brought about in a Day, and ever after that he seem'd to trust him entirely.

Pen, the Quaker, Son to the Vice Admiral, came over to the Prince's Court to persuade him to enter into the King's Measures: The Prince agreed to a Toleration of Popery, as well as of the Dissenters, provided it was establish'd by Parliament; but he would join in no Counsels for a Repeal of the Test. But *Pen* said, the King would have all, or nothing, and so his Negotiation had no Effect.

Pen told our Author if he would return to *England* the King would prefer him highly, since he found he was for Toleration; to which he reply'd, he would never be for Toleration, if the Test must go with it. He acquainted our Author also at this Time (*Anno*, 1686) with a Prediction he had met with, of a Change that would happen in the Face of Affairs in the Year 1688, which would amaze all the World; and after the Revolution, our Author demanded if that was the Event predicted, at which he was uneasy; but he reply'd, that he understood it of a full Settlement of the Nation upon a Toleration.

This Year dy'd Dr. *Pearson*, Bishop of *Chester*, and *Fell*, Bishop of *Oxford*. *Pearson* was a Man of great Learning, strong Reason, and clear Judgment, of an unblameable Life, and excellent Temper, and his Book of the Creed was one of the best our Church has produc'd; but he was too remiss in his Episcopal Function. *Fell* was a Man of strict Life, much Devotion, and great Learning: He was Dean of *Christ's Church*, and promoted Learning in the University, particularly in his own College, which he govern'd with great Care, and was in all Respects a most exemplary Man, a little too much heated against the Dissenters, and yet one of the first who oppos'd Popery. *Cartwright* was promoted to *Chester*: He had some Learning, but was ambitious, servile, cruel, and boisterous, and by the Liberties

he took, fell under much Scandal of the worst sort : He look'd upon the King's Authority to be superior to all Law, and so was look'd upon as one who would advance Popery, better than if he had gone over to it.

Doctor *Parker*, who was advanc'd to the See of *Oxford*, was a violent Independent at the Restoration, but soon after struck in with the highest of the Church of *England*, and wrote many Books, which shew'd such a Contempt and Fury against all the Dissenters, as provok'd them out of Measure : He rais'd the Authority of the Church to an Independance on the Civil Power : His Books had an entertaining Liveliness, but were neither grave or correct : He was covetous and ambitious, seem'd to have no Sense of Religion, but as a political Engine ; and his Pride was insufferable. These two were pitch'd on as the fittest Instruments to betray and ruin the Church ; Articles were exhibited to Archbishop *Sancroft* against them, which contain'd a very scandalous Charge ; and *Lloyd* told our Author, *Sancroft* promised not to consecrate them till he had examin'd into the Truth of the Articles, but he was afraid of incurring a *Premunire*, and so consented to their Consecration.

Our Author proceeds to give an Account of the Affair of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, and of the Mandate to the University of *Cambridge*, for admitting Father *Francis* to his Degree ; whereupon he observes, that in all Nations the Privileges of Colleges and Universities are esteem'd such sacred Things, that few will venture to disturb them ; for not only the present Body will espouse the Matter, but all who have been of them, think themselves bound in Honour and Gratitude to assist and support them ; and the Priests, he thinks, begun where they ought to have ended. The Court observ'd,

that

that though the King's Mandate to give Father *Francis* his Degree was refus'd, yet the *Morocco* Ambassador's Secretary, who was a Mahometan, had that Degree given him, so that it seem'd a Papist was reckon'd worse than a Mahometan, and the King's Letters less regarded than the *Morocco* Ambassador's; to which it was answer'd, that a great Difference was to be made between honorary Degrees given to Strangers, and those given to such as design'd to settle amongst them, and if they comply'd with this, all the King's Priests would be let in upon them, and perhaps become a Majority in their Convocation; therefore they refus'd the *Mandamus* with great Unanimity, and a Firmness that was not expected.

The Court thought fit to let the Matter drop, which, our Author observes, shew'd their Weakness in beginning such an ill-grounded Attempt, or their Feebleness in letting it fall, and was contrary to a Maxim the King seem'd to have when our Author knew him, that *when a King had made a Step, he should never go back, for this would encourage Faction and Disobedience.*

The Proceedings against *Magdalen* College and the University of *Cambridge*, so inflamed the Clergy and the Church Party, that they made pressing Instances to the Prince of *Orange*, we are told, that he would interpose and break with the King, if he would not redress their Grievances. Our Author confesses he did not see the Letters; but the Prince often said, he was press'd by many of those who were afterwards his greatest Enemies to engage in their Quarrel: Though the dispossessing the Fellows of *Magdalen* College of their Fellowships, was a despotick and arbitrary Act, yet our Author apprehended it did not strike at the whole, and therefore

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fore he still retain'd his Opinion, that Resistance was yet unlawful.

The King breaking with the Church of *England*, and forgetting the Services they had done him in the Bill of Exclusion, and upon his Accession, now courted the Dissenters to concur with him in his Designs, and they so far agreed with him, as not to meddle with the Points of Controversy, but left them to the Management of the Clergy of the Church of *England*.

His Majesty this Year, 1687, encamp'd his Army upon *Hounslow-Heath*, where he had them exercis'd all the Summer; but he found his Soldiers express'd as great an Aversion to his Religion, as the rest of his Subjects; and it was said, they encourag'd one another, and vow'd never to forsake their Religion. They were rejoic'd to find there were no more Papists amongst them, which might have been conceal'd, if the Army had not been thus assembled; but the Court came to a Resolution hereupon to raise their Recruits in *Ireland*, and to fill up the Regiments with *Irish* Papists, which succeeded as ill as the rest of their Designs.

The King sent the Earl of *Castlemain* Ambassador to the Pope this Year, where, among other Things, in order to induce his Holiness to come into the Measures of the Court of *England*, he insinuated, that the Kings of *France* and *England* would endeavour every where to extirpate Heresy, and particularly, that they would fall upon the *Dutch* without declaring War, and treat them as a Company of Rebels and Pyrates, who had no Right to be us'd as other Princes and States, of which the Prince of *Orange* was advis'd; and our Author thinks, this was a sufficient Foundation for the *Dutch* to enter into a War with *England*, and engage in the Enterprize

prize against King *James*, as they did the following Year.

Pope *Innocent* being in the *Imperial* Interest, refus'd to concur with *England* in the Measures they were taking, and so the Lord *Castlemain* left *Rome*, having made a very expensive and insignificant Embassy; however, the Pope sent Cardinal *Dada*, his Nuncio, to the Court of *England*,

This Pope, our Author tells us, was a jealous timorous Man, who had no Knowledge of any sort but in Matters of his Revenue: He did not so much as understand *Latin*, but had a Master to teach him that little *Latin* he had occasion for at High Masses; he understood nothing of Divinity, and hated the Jesuits.

Queen *Christina*, when our Author was at *Rome*, told him, that the Church was certainly govern'd by the immediate Providence of God, for none of the four Popes which she had known had common Sense; She had now given herself up to the Study of Astrology, we are told, by which she understood that King *James* would still live many Years, but he would have no Son.

The King sent over to the Prince of *Orange* to forbid our Author his Court, and requir'd a Promise of him to admit him to his Presence no more, which the Prince comply'd with, and our Author never saw the Prince or Princess till a few Days before the King embark'd for *England*; but the Prince constantly acquainted him with the whole Secret of the *English* Affairs, and he drew *Dykevelt's* Instructions, who was sent Envoy to the Court of *England*. His Business, it seems, was principally to treat with the *English* Malecontents, and he was directed to assure the Church Party, that the Prince would always be steady to their Interests: He was to let the Dissenters know they might expect

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pect a Comprehension or Toleration, and to press them not to fall in with the Measures of the Court. He was to sound all sorts of People, and to remove such Prejudices as they might entertain of the Prince.

The Marquis of *Halifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Devonshire*, *Danby* and *Nottingham*, the Lords *Mordaunt* and *Lumley*, the Admirals *Herbert* and *Russel*, and the Bishop of *London*, were the Persons chiefly trusted; and upon the Advices that were sent over by them, the Prince govern'd all his Motions: They met often at the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* and there they concerted Matters, and drew the Declaration on which they advis'd the Prince to engage.

In the mean while, the King sent down a Declaration of Indulgence to *Scotland*, suspending all the Penal Laws in relation to Religion, and directing that no Test should be required but a new one, whereby they shou'd renounce the Principles of Rebellion, and oblige themselves to maintain the King's absolute Power; the Presbyterians magnify'd this Grace extravagantly, and though they were not so blind as not to see what was aim'd at by it, they made Addresses with great Acknowledgments and Protestations of their Loyalty. This was follow'd by a Declaration for a Toleration in *England*, tho' in much more modest Terms; which, however, gave great Offence to the Church Party; the Dissenters, on the contrary, as well here as in *Scotland*, presented Addresses upon the Occasion, with Protestations of their Fidelity and Gratitude, in the most abject Strains; at which the Court was much lifted up, and the King reproach'd the Members of the Church of *England* with persecuting the Dissenters, and observ'd that their Loyalty remain'd no longer than while the Court was in their Interest,

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The King proceeded to change the Magistracy of *London*, and in most of the Corporations in *England*; those who had oppos'd his Exclusion were now turn'd out with Disgrace, and those who had appear'd most against him, the Whigs and Dissenters, were put into the Magistracy; and when the Sheriffs invited his Majesty to the Lord Mayor's Feast, he order'd them to invite the Pope's Nuncio, which they did; but the Mayor and Aldermen made an Entry in their Books, that it was not by their Direction, and that the Nuncio came without their Knowledge; which the King took ill: However, he intimated to the Lord Mayor, who was a Dissenter, that he might use what Service he pleas'd in *Guild-hall* Chapel; but he advising upon it, and finding it contrary to Law, declin'd the using any other Service than what had been accustom'd.

The Lords Lieutenants of the several Counties were requir'd, about this time, to demand of the Gentlemen and Freeholders whether they would engage to vote for such Members of Parliament as would consent to a Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test, and the maintaining the King's Declaration of Indulgence: But the Counties in general refus'd to comply with it; some refus'd to make any Answer, particularly the Mayor and most of the new Aldermen of *London*; whereupon many were turn'd out of Commission.

R E M A R K S.

We may allow the Persecution in *France* to be very severe; but to affirm that it exceeded all the Persecutions of the primitive Christians, was fit only for Bishop *Burnet* to say: And this may serve as an Instance of our Author's Attempts to aggravate Matters, and make Things appear ten times worse than

than they really were: Here were no Racks, no Roasting, no Impaling or Sawing afunder, or indeed any Capital Punishments inflicted; so that it is not easy to conceive by what Figure our Author speaks, when he says that it exceeded all the ten Persecutions put together, both in the barbarous Inventions, and the Continuance of it: If he allows himself as great a Latitude in other Parts of his History as he has done here, how shall we be able to depend upon it?

But whether our Author was more delighted with inventing Tortures for the *French Hugonots*, or with contriving how to do himself Honour at *Rome*, may not be easy to determine. *France*, we have been told, was *struck* with his Appearance in that Kingdom; and now his Holiness is intent upon doing him Honour the very Moment he arrives, and is content to dispense with the usual Compliment paid to his Toe, or any thing, to obtain a Conference with Father *Burnet*; but as he had before refus'd that Favour to the Grand Monarch, it is not to be expected he should indulge the Bishop of *Rome* so far: He declin'd an Interview therefore, lest the Thing shou'd make a Noise, and reflect some Scandal upon the pure Dr. *Burnet*; among the Godly, if he had condescended to defile himself with the Conversation of this Prince of Idolaters.

Cardinal *Howard* indeed he did gratify sometimes with his Company, he tells us; tho' that Cardinal has been so very ungrateful, it seems, to deny that ever he saw the Face of *Gilbert Burnet*: And if this should happen to be true, what must become of all those precious Dialogues, and particularly the Adventure of the Reliques, which our Author has crouded into his Work? But had not the Cardinal been so base as to deny the Conversation our Author had with him, our Author's Enemies wou'd have

have been apt to suspect the Truth of some Particulars, from the Relation it self; as where we are told that the Cardinal communicated *all* his *English* Letters to our Author, whereby he saw into the Designs of the *English* Court; whoever believes this, must conclude the Cardinal to be an exceeding weak Man, to communicate such Secrets to one who was a Stranger to him; or if he knew any thing of him, he cou'd not be ignorant he was not a proper Person to be intrusted with things of that nature.

To proceed; our Author does not forget to acquaint us that he us'd the same Freedom at *Rome* as in other Places; and tho' they were so very complaisant to him, he cou'd not dispense with his Duty so far as not to reprove them for their Errors; tho' he is the first Man I have ever heard of, except one of our *English* Quakers, that made a Journey to *Rome*, in order to convert them.

But surely our Author has in no Instance given us more Reason to suspect his Judgment, or rather his Memory, than in the Account he has given us of the Parliament in King *James's* Reign: Those Gentlemen whom he once represented as a poor, mean-spirited, mercenary Body of Men, he is at length compell'd, by the Force of Truth, to acknowledge, remain'd as firm in their Resolutions to maintain their Religion and Liberties, as any Parliament that ever sate, and wou'd never consent to the Repeal of those Laws which were their Security, tho' they retain'd at the same time all the Duty and Respect imaginable for their Prince. Nay, he tells us, that when they were closeted singly, and all Arts us'd to induce them to comply with the Court, they were not to be wrought upon, either by Threats or Promises. What Excuse then can we make for our Author, who has a little before represented these Gentlemen in such vile Colours? How happy

happy wou'd this Nation be, if Parliaments were never more liable to Corruption than this was? and what does that Man deserve, who cou'd so insolently traduce Gentlemen who deserv'd so well of their Country?

The King finding the Members of the Church of *England* so firm, apply'd himself to the Dissenters, it seems, who receiv'd his Proposals of dispensing with the Penal Laws with abundance of Joy; and tho' they saw it was with a Design to introduce Popery, address'd him in a most abject Strain; and it is observable, quite thro' this, as well as our other Histories, whenever our Religion or Liberties were about to be invaded, the Dissenters were constantly made the Tools to effect it. But tho' the Clergy of the Church of *England* bore the Burden and Heat of the Day, and bravely defended their Religion, while the Dissenters lay silent, and concurr'd in all the Measures of the Court, yet had they the Confidence to pretend a mighty Share of Merit at the Revolution.

To proceed; can any Man give much Credit to the Character our Author has given us before of the Earl of *Rocheſter*, when here he makes him Proof against all Temptations? Is it to be suppos'd he was liable to such Corruption, and wou'd do those little Things our Author suggests of him in other Parts of his History, when we find him here ready to sacrifice every thing rather than alter his Religion? Shall we attend to the malicious uncertain Guesſes of our Author and his Enemies, and call in question the Probity and Integrity of a Nobleman who was content to part with all that he had in the World, rather than go against his Conscience, when he cou'd have no Hopes of bettering his Circumstances by an Alteration in the Government?

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But very unhappy sure was our Author, who had made so many Resolutions of retiring from the World to say his Prayers, and yet when he was just upon the Point of retreating, was still dragg'd into Business again; tho' I am apt to think nothing less than a Prospect of having a Share in the glorious Revolution, and rescuing his Country from Popery and Slavery, cou'd have prevail'd with him to have meddled in Affairs any more.

The Characters he has given us of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, possibly may not be much amiss; but how he came to acquaint us that the Princess read History much, and yet afterwards that she knew nothing of the History of *England*, till he instructed her, and that she was not so much as acquainted with the Title of *Henry VII.* or upon what Terms Queen *Mary* married *Philip* of *Spain*, is a little surprizing. As for his Zeal in procuring the Princess of *Orange* to transfer her Right to the Crown of *England* to the Prince, this was so apparently to the Advantage of the *English* Nation, that it is something strange that the two Houses of Parliament never made their Acknowledgments to him for it, as they did upon a much more trivial Occasion.

Notwithstanding our Author seem'd to have taken his Leave of the World, we find him soon as much immers'd in State Affairs as ever; he advises the Prince of *Orange* to take care of his Person, to equip a Fleet, and send over an Envoy to *England*, to discover the Intentions of that Court, and concert Measures with the Malecontents; and he himself draws up the Instructions. But when he has told us that he thought it yet unlawful to restrain the King, how cou'd he reconcile it to his Conscience, to be fomenting an Invasion and Insurrection?

Our Author indeed brings in the whole Body of the Clergy, and the Church Party, desiring the Prince to interpose with his Father; but whether they meant by his good Offices, or by his Troops, he does not inform us; and, whatever the Prince and some particular Persons whom our Author mentions, might design or hope for, possibly not one Man in a hundred at that time ever thought of seeing themselves deliver'd in the manner they were afterwards.

Pope *Innocent*, methinks, is not handsomely dealt with by our Author, considering how exceeding civil he was to him at *Rome*, and what a Friend he was to the Protestant Cause: To say that Infallibility itself understood nothing of Divinity, and that he had not *Latin* enough to say Mass, was such an Affront as his Holiness must have resented, if ever our Author had visited *Rome* again: But possibly Queen *Christina's* Prophecy, that King *James* shou'd never have a Son, and the Story of the Pope's Ignorance, may be equally true; at least I believe there is not one Man in the three Kingdoms, that will give any Credit to the one or the other, upon our Author's Authority.

ABRIDGMENT.

The King, about this time, wrote to the Princess of *Orange*, giving her an Account of the Reasons which induc'd him to change his Religion: And she wrote him an Answer, with the Reasons of her continuing in the Religion she was bred up in.

Several Letters came out, which were printed in *Holland*, reflecting upon the Affairs of *England*; which inflam'd the King much against our Author, supposing them to be writ by him; as he confesses most of them were: And that which encreas'd the

King's

King's Anger against him, he thinks, was his being about to marry a great Fortune at the *Hague*, which was attempted to be broken off, by charging him with High Treason, for corresponding with the Earl of *Argyle*, and conversing with those who were outlaw'd for Treason; and a Proclamation was order'd in *Scotland* accordingly: But our Author having Notice of it before the *English* Envoy, he procur'd himself to be naturaliz'd in *Holland*, in order to his Marriage, and so became legally under the Protection of the States. After which he wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Middleton*, in his Defence, in which he happen'd to say, that being now naturaliz'd in *Holland*, his Allegiance was transferr'd from his Majesty to the States, and if they proceeded against him, he might be forc'd to give such an Account of the State of Affairs, the last twenty Years, as would displease his Majesty: Whereupon, he says, the first Prosecution was dropp'd, and a new one order'd, charging him with High Treason, for saying his Allegiance was transferr'd to another State, and threatening to write a History that might reflect on his Majesty: At length, Sentence of Outlawry was pronounc'd against him; and *Albeville* the *British* Envoy threaten'd, if the States would not deliver him up, to find Persons to seize him, and carry him away by Force; but he believes this was done to frighten him, for many Overtures were made, not only to let this Prosecution fall, but to prefer him, if he would make himself capable of it; but he was not to be mov'd, either by their Threats or their Offers.

In the beginning of the Year, 1688, *Albeville*, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague*, presented a Memorial, requiring Satisfaction for the *Dutch* dispossessing the *English* of their Factory at *Bantam*. He presented another Memorial, requiring the States to

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deliver up our Author as an Outlaw and Rebel, but the States refus'd it, upon his being naturaliz'd; which the King said, he look'd upon as a just Cause of War, though he should not take the Advantage of it, but he knew there was a Design to make War upon himself, and he should prepare for his Defence. Our Author heard there were great Sums offer'd to any one who should kill him, but he knew his own Innocence, and was very little concern'd at it.

The King now demanded the three *English* and three *Scottish* Regiments which were in the Service of the States to be sent over to *England*, which the States refus'd to comply with, but gave Leave to as many of the Officers as desir'd it to come over; whereupon about thirty or forty ask'd Leave to return, and the Prince of *Orange* was very willing to part with them, being Men generally more devoted to the King's Interest than his own, and he put Officers whom he could better confide in, in their Rooms.

Father *Peters* was now advanc'd to be a Privy Counsellor, and was consider'd as the first Minister of State: He gave daily Proofs of a weak ill-govern'd Passion, which tended to drive the King and his Party to a Precipice. About the end of *April*, 1688, the King thought fit to renew his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience; and an Order of Council was made, requiring the Bishops to disperse the Declaration amongst their Clergy, and order them to read it on two several *Sundays*, in Time of Divine Service.

Dr. *Sancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, resolv'd to act suitably to his Post and Character upon this Occasion, and wrote to all the Bishops of his Province, to come up or send their Opinions; and he found that eighteen of the Bishops, and the main Body

Body of the Clergy, concurr'd with him in the Resolution not to read the Declaration: His Grace, with six other Bishops who came to *London*, resolv'd upon a Petition to his Majesty, that he would not insist upon their dispersing and reading this Declaration, it being founded on such a dispensing Power, as had been declar'd illegal in Parliament. The King spoke roughly to them, our Author says, and told them, *he was their King, and would be obey'd, and they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him*; to which they only answer'd, *the Will of God be done*: And now Things seem'd to be brought to a Crisis, and all People were in great Expectation what the Issue of this Business would be. The King remain'd in doubt some Days what he should do upon this Occasion; and *Lobb*, a Dissenting Preacher, who was now in favour at Court, advis'd the King to send the Bishops to the *Tower*: On the contrary, some of the Popish Nobility advis'd his Majesty to let the Matter fall, since it appear'd the Body of the Clergy were resolv'd not to read the Declaration; and it seems, there were not above seven who read it in *London*, nor above two hundred all over *England*; and some who did read it, declar'd in their Sermons, that though they obey'd the Order, they did not approve the Declaration: And one Clergyman told his People, that though he was oblig'd to read it, they were not oblig'd to hear it, and so staid till they were all gone out of the Church before he read it; and in other Places where the Ministers read the Declaration, the People went out.

The King by the Advice of Father *Peters* and the Jesuits (which suited with his own Temper and Passion, our Author says, but was contrary to the Opinion of all others) cited the petitioning Bishops to appear before the Council, and requir'd them to

enter into Bonds to appear in the Court of *King's-Bench*, to answer their Misdemeanor, in petitioning, or rather libelling his Administration, as it was term'd; but they insisting, that by their Peerage they were not oblig'd to enter into Recognizances to answer a Misdemeanor, were sent to the *Tower*, by a Warrant sign'd by the whole Council Board, except Father *Peters*, which created a universal Consternation in the People; but the King did not seem to be mov'd by it; and though he was press'd by some of the more moderate Papists on the Birth of the Pretender, which happen'd two Days after, that he would pardon the Bishops, he nevertheless remain'd inflexible. About a Week after the Commitment, their Recognizances were taken in the Court of *King's-Bench*, for their Appearance in order to a Trial: About thirty of the Nobility attended them upon this Occasion, and they met with the loud Acclamations of the People, who crouded to get a Sight of them, on their being discharg'd out of Custody, looking upon them as so many Confessors, and the Day concluded with Bonfires.

When their Trial came on, vast Crouds assembled at *Westminsterhall*, the People being strangely affected on this Occasion, and even the Army shew'd an Inclination to mutiny. The Bishops Hands to the Petition, which was denominat'd a Libel, could not be prov'd, but by the Acknowledgment they had made at the Council Board; which being done upon the Confidence they had in the King's Honour, our Author thinks, ought not to have been insisted on; and no Proof could be brought of their publishing of it, unless the presenting of it to the King might be call'd such. It was insisted also in their Defence, that it was incumbent on them as Bishops, to give their Rea-

sons

sons against the publishing this Declaration in their Churches; and that all Subjects had a Right to petition the King, but especially the Peers, who were of the Great Council: That the dispensing Power had also been voted by Parliament to be against Law, and that the late King had recall'd a Declaration of the same Nature; to which the King's Counsel answer'd, *that the Votes of the Houses of Parliament were not Laws, and that the King by receding upon a certain Occasion from a Point of his Prerogative, did not thereby yield it up; and though the Houses of Parliament might have a Right to petition, yet it would be Sedition in any other Persons to petition against the Administration of the Government.* The Trial lasted ten Hours, wherein the People expressed great Concern for the Bishops, and treated the Witnesses who were brought against them with much Contempt; and some of them would have been in great Danger, if they had not been let out a back Way. *Powel and Holloway*, two of the Judges, were of Opinion, that there was no seditious Matter in the Libel; and the Chief Justice *Wright* did not think the Publication of it prov'd: There had been a fair Jury return'd, who soon agreed upon their Verdict to acquit the Bishops; but to make a Shew of the greater Deliberation, they continu'd shut up till the next Morning. The King was in great Hopes the Bishops would have been convicted, and went that Morning to the Army, that he might by his Presence prevent any Mutiny: When the Jury brought in their Verdict, there were such Shoutings and Rejoicings, that all People were *struck* with it, and Bonfires were made that Night in *London*, and all over *England* afterwards, as they receiv'd the News; and the King had no sooner left the Camp, but there was the same Shouting and Rejoicing there, as if some Victory had been obtain'd.

tain'd. And yet could not all this convince his Majesty, our Author observes, of the Mischiefs of those violent Counsels he was engag'd in; but he resolv'd, that the Clergy who had refus'd to read his Declaration, should answer their Neglect before the Ecclesiastical Commission; whereupon all Chancellors and Archdeacons were requir'd to send in Lists of those who had not obey'd the Order of Council for publishing the Declaration. When the Day came on which they were cited to appear, the Bishop of *Rocheſter* who had been an acting Commissioner, though he always voted on the milder ſide, refus'd to ſit any longer amongſt them, and wrote the Commissioners a Letter, declaring, that he could not go on with them any longer; and that he would rather chuſe to ſuffer with the reſt, than concur in any Proſecution againſt thoſe who had neglected to read the Declaration; whereupon the Court adjourn'd that Day, without tranſacting any Thing.

The King having thus assum'd to himſelf a Power to ſuſpend the Laws, which disabled Recuſants to hold Offices or Employments, and the Sheriffs and Mayors of Towns conſequently not being legal Officers, a Parliament which ſhould be return'd by ſuch Men, could be no legal Parliament. Our Author now look'd upon the whole Frame of our Government to be alter'd, and all our Laws ſubjected to the King's Pleaſure; for by the ſame Rule he diſpens'd with theſe Laws, he might diſpenſe with any other; and when he ſaw a Petition offer'd in the humbleſt manner, repreſenting the Illegality of ſuch a Declaration by Men of that Eminence was made a Crime, theſe Things, our Author ſays, ſatisfy'd him there was now a total Deſtruction of our Conſtitution begun, and openly avow'd, and according to the Principles of the higheſt Aſſertors of Submiſſion and

and Passive Obedience, *Barclay* and *Grotius*, it was in such Cases lawful for the People to consult their own Preservation, and the Prince of *Orange* he look'd upon to be the only Person, who either had a Power or Right to interpose in this Case; for by all Laws publick and private, the Person who has a Right in Reversion, may restrain the present Possessor from destroying the Estate, which is to descend to him.

When the Nation was in this Disorder, Admiral *Ruffel* came to the *Hague*, being sent over by many who had great Power and Interest in *England*, to know positively what might be expected from him; to whom the Prince answer'd, *that if some Persons of the greatest Interest in the Nation would in their Names, and the Names of others who trusted them, invite him over to rescue the Nation and their Religion, he thought he could be prepared for such an Enterprize by the latter end of September.*

Upon the Return of *Zuylewstein* to the *Hague*, who had been sent to *England* to congratulate the King and Queen upon the Birth, the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd such Assurances and Invitations as he desir'd, and thereupon resolv'd upon his Expedition. The whole Nation he understood was in a high Ferment: Proceedings against the Clergy were continu'd, and they apprehended that their Religion would soon be alter'd, and Popery and Slavery entail'd upon them, by this pretended Birth. The Army declar'd openly against Popery, and drank the most reproachful Healths; whereupon the King broke up the Camp at *Houmflow*, and sent them into Quarters: The Seamen shew'd the same Aversion to Popery, and *Strickland*, who had the Command of the Fleet, carrying some Priests on Board, it had like to have occasion'd a Mutiny among the Seamen.

The

The Earl of *Sunderland* observing that the King was hastening on his Ruin, represented to the Queen, that there was no Need of driving so fast now she had a Son, and advis'd her to propose moderate Counsels, whereby she might gain the Hearts of the Nation, and be declar'd Regent, if the King should happen to die in the Minority of her Son. That these Advices might gain the greater Credit, *Sunderland*, who had but slight Notions of Religion, our Author tells us, resolv'd to declare himself a Papist, whereby he gain'd such an Ascendant over the Queen, that Things were like to come under a milder Management: His Change to Popery was so sudden, and without any previous Instruction or Conference, that it look'd as if it was only done to serve a Turn; and some have charg'd him with turning Papist to gain Credit with the King, that he might the more effectually betray him. But, our Author says, he put it home to the Prince whether he entertain'd any Correspondence with the Earl of *Sunderland* at that Time, and the Prince assur'd him he had no manner of Correspondence with him; and, our Author thinks, if *Sunderland* had had Time to follow the Schemes he had projected, it might have been fatal to the Nation, who would have been laid a Sleep with new Promises, and a milder Conduct; and that might have been gain'd by slow Methods, which they were near losing by these violent Proceedings.

The Prince determining to take with him nine thousand Foot and four thousand Horse for his intended Descent upon *England*, he enter'd into a Treaty with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Duke of *Zell*, for a Body of Troops to supply the Places of the Forces he took with him.

The Duke of *Hanover* had some Engagements with *France* at that Time, but having marry'd the Princess *Sophia*, our Author ventur'd to send her a Message, acquainting her with their Design upon *England*, and that if they succeeded, there would certainly be a perpetual Exclusion of all Papists from that Crown, and as she was the next Protestant Heir after the two Princesses, and the Prince of *Orange*, who had no Issue living, the Succession of the Crown of *England* would probably be settled in the Family of *Hanover*, if the Duke would disengage himself from the Interest of *France*. This Intimation was very acceptable to the Duchess, but made no great Impression on the Duke, who look'd upon it as a very remote and doubtful Project, but when he saw the Success of the Prince of *Orange*'s Enterprize, he had other Thoughts of the Matter.

Admiral *Herbert* went over to the Prince, and was receiv'd with a particular Regard, we are told, to his Pride and ill Humour: He had got a great Reputation by his steady Behaviour in *England*, but the Ground of his Quarrel with the King, was his Majesty's placing a greater Confidence in the Lord *Dartmouth* than in himself.

The Lord *Mordaunt* was the first *English* Nobleman that came over openly to the Prince: He was a Man of much Heat, full of Discourse, brave and generous, but had no true Judgment, or the Art of keeping a Secret.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* who was bred a Papist, and had chang'd his Religion upon a very critical Enquiry, also came over to the Prince: He was a Man of Probity and Honour, great Learning, and a correct Judgment, and had a Sweetness of Temper, which charm'd all Men; and while he was in the Ministry our Author heard no Complaints against him: The
Prince

Prince seem'd so fond of none of his Ministers as he was of him.

Admiral *Russel* also came over: He was a Man of good Principles, and firm to them, of much Honour, and great Courage: The Prince told him, that no private Ambition could ever have prevail'd with him to engage in a War with so near a Relation, and therefore he expected formal Invitations. *Russel* returning to *England*, communicated the Matter first to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and then to the Lord *Lumley*, who was also a Convert from Popery, and resolv'd to embark deep in the Design; but *Sidney*, Brother to the Earl of *Leicester*, and to *Algernoon Sidney*, was in the greatest Confidence with the Prince, and those who desir'd to recommend themselves to him, did it through him. *Sidney* try'd the Marquess of *Halifax* whether he was for inviting the Prince over, but he look'd upon it as a desperate Project. It was then propos'd to the Earl of *Danby*, who engag'd in it himself, and brought the Bishop of *London* into it; and by their Advice it was propos'd to the Earl of *Nottingham*, who was in great Credit with the Church of *England*, and a Man of Virtue and Gravity: He had some Knowledge of the Law, and of the parliamentary Records; was a copious Speaker, but too florid and tedious: He kept at a Distance from the Court all this Reign, and entertain'd the Proposition at first, but told them afterwards, his Conscience would not suffer him to proceed in it. The Earl of *Devonshire* went into it very readily, as did three of the principal Officers of the Army, namely, *Trelawney*, *Kirk*, and *Churchill*, and *Trelawney's* Brother, the Bishop of *Bristol*, also approv'd it. *Churchill* was a graceful Person, bred up in the Court, with no Literature, but had a good Understanding, and constant Presence of Mind: He catch'd all

People

People in a most obliging manner, and was ready to do good Offices, but having no Fortune was put upon all Methods of acquiring one, which he did not shake off when he was advanc'd to the greatest Posts: His Expences were never answerable to the Places he possess'd, but otherwise he was one of the greatest Men of the Age, a great Favourite of the King's and his Lady, a much greater with the Princess *Anne*; and though the Lord *Churchill* has been censur'd as guilty of Ingratitude and Treachery to a kind Master, our Author says, he was in no Contrivance to ruin him, but always propos'd moderate Counsels. On the King's first Accession, he said, if the King alter'd his Religion he would serve him no longer, and as he was very doubtful as to the Birth, he was resolv'd to go over to the Prince of *Orange*; but he betray'd no Post, only withdrew himself with such Officers as he could trust, and engag'd to bring over Prince *George* and the Princess *Anne*. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Admiral *Russel* came over to *Holland* in *September*, and soon after them came *Sidney*, and brought over the Heads of a Declaration penn'd chiefly by Lord *Danby*, who with the Earl of *Devonshire* and Lord *Lumley*, undertook to secure the North, and the rest were assign'd their several Counties; and though the Thing was in the Hands of many thousands, he observes, there was no Discovery made. *France* gave the first Intelligence to the Court of *England*, whereupon King *James* order'd fourteen more Ships to put to Sea, and gave the Command of the Fleet to the Lord *Dartmouth*, whom our Author thinks to be one of the worthiest Men of his Court; and though he lov'd his Majesty, always disapprov'd his Conduct.

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The King being about to recruit his Forces with *Irish*, five *Irishmen* were order'd to be plac'd in every Company in the Duke of *Berwick's* Regiment, which then lay at *Portsmouth*; whereupon *Beaumont*, the Lieutenant Colonel, and five Captains refus'd to serve; they were brought before a Council of War, and discharg'd, with some Reproach; but all the Officers of the Army notwithstanding, express'd their Aversion for *Irish* Recruits.

The *French* King offer'd his Majesty what Forces he saw fit, and the Priests and Popish Lords were for accepting of them; but the Earl of *Sunderland* oppos'd it, suggesting the Danger that this might be of to the King and Kingdom, and thereupon they were not accepted.

Albeville, the *English* Minister at the *Hague*, presented a Memorial to the States, demanding a Reason of those mighty Preparations they were making. The *French* Ambassador at the *Hague* also told the States, that he understood their Preparations were design'd against *England*, and that there was such a strict Alliance between the two Crowns, that his Master would look upon any Thing done against *England* as done against himself. But the Court of *England* deny'd any Alliance with the Court of *France*, and when *Skelton*, the Envoy at *Paris*, return'd to *England*, he was sent to the *Tower*, for procuring the Clause to be put in the *French* Memorial, which mention'd an Alliance; but, our Author thinks, this was but a Blind, because *Skelton* was soon after made Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

Several Draughts of a Declaration were made and sent from *England* to be publish'd by the Prince at his coming over. These the Prince deliver'd to the Pensioner *Fagel*, who out of them made a long heavy Draught, founded on the Civil Law, and the

the Law of Nations, which being brought to our Author to put in *English*, he procur'd it to be much shorten'd, though he found *Fagel* very fond of his own Draught.

This Declaration set forth the Violations that had been made on the Laws of *England*: The Proceedings against the Bishops for petitioning; the Endeavours of the Court to pack a Parliament; and shew'd, that no Parliament could be legal, because the Writs must be directed to unqualify'd Officers, and the Reasons for suspecting the Queen's Delivery were insisted on.

The Prince also set forth, that being sensible of the approaching Ruin both of the Protestant Religion and the *English* Constitution, and being earnestly invited by many of the Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, and Men of all Ranks, he resolv'd on this Expedition to *England*, in order to redress these growing Evils in a legal Parliament, with whom he should concur in all Things, tending to the Peace and Happiness of the Nation; and in particular, that he should endeavour to preserve the Church, and procure Liberty of Conscience to the Dissenters, and would refer the Enquiry into the Queen's Delivery to a Parliament, in whose Determination he should acquiesce: The Prince also wrote Letters to the Soldiers and Seamen, as well as others, to join with him in securing their Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

Our Author also drew up a short Paper, wherein he shew'd the Measures of Obedience, and the Justice of the Enterprize, and several thousand Copies of these were printed to be dispers'd on their Arrival in *England*; and the Prince desiring our Author to go with him as his Chaplain, he readily agreed to it, being fully satisfy'd, that the Undertaking was lawful and just; and having been advised

vis'd with in the whole Progress of the Affair, he thought it would not be decent to refuse to expose his Person, when the Prince ventur'd his; though, as he was a *Scotchman*, he run the Hazard of the Torture of the Boots, if he had been taken: The Declaration that was prepar'd for *Scotland*, he had no other hand in, he says, than the correcting it in some Places relating to the Church; for the Presbyterians had drawn it so, that the Prince was made to declare in Favour of Presbytery, which might have been of ill Consequence at this time.

Their Friends from *England*, our Author tells us, advis'd the Prince to have a great Fleet, but a small Army, not exceeding six or seven thousand Men; for they apprehended an ill Use might be made of it, if he brought over a great Army of Foreigners; this might look as if he design'd a Conquest. But the Prince wou'd not consent to come over with so small a Force; he cou'd not believe there was that Disposition in the King's Army to revolt to him, as was suggested; nor would he depend upon the Country's coming in to him; if either of which should fail him, it might be the Ruin both of *England* and *Holland*: And therefore he was resolv'd to bring over such a Force as would be superior to the King's Army, tho' it continued faithful to him. The Earl of *Darby*, and some others, were for the Prince's Landing in *Yorkshire*; but Admiral *Herbert* would not agree to that, the Coast being very unfit to ride in at that time of Year: And then the Channell would have been open, whereby *French* Troops might easily have been brought over to the King's Assistance.

The States went into the Enterprize without any Opposition, and lent the Prince four Millions of Guilders, which had been rais'd to repair the Towns upon their Frontiers: They were convinc'd, that

both their Religion and their Country were in imminent Danger; and that if *France* and *England* should unite, they could not be able to make Head against them; they therefore found it necessary to take *England* out of the Hands of a Prince who was so firmly allied to *France*; and they receiv'd such positive Advices of the Disposition of the People and Army to revolt, that there seem'd little Doubt of Success, except what was to be apprehended from the Season of the Year.

Never was so great a Design, our Author thinks, so suddenly put in Execution, five hundred Transports were prepar'd in three Days time; and tho' other Necessaries had been preparing some Months, all was manag'd with that Secrecy that nothing of it appear'd, till the Troops were ready to be embark'd.

The Princess of *Orange* seem'd at this time, our Author says, to have a great Load upon her Spirits; tho' he thinks she had no Scruple as to the Lawfulness of the Design: Whereupon our Author told her, there was no Reason to be apprehensive of the Success of the Expedition, unless some Difference should arise between the Prince and her, which might ruin all: She answer'd, he need not fear any thing of that Nature.

On the 16th of *October*, the Prince took his Leave of the States, recommending to them the Care of the Government, and of the Princess, in his Absence, and acquainted them that he had no other Design in this Expedition to *England*, than what he had set forth in his Declaration. On the 19th of *October* he embark'd at *Helvoetsluys*, and that Night the Fleet sail'd; but the next Day a Storm arising from the *North-West*, they were forc'd to return into their Harbours again, but without the Loss of one Ship. Upon this Disappointment, it was said in

France and *England*, that Providence had defeated their whole Design; while in *Holland* they look'd upon it as a Mark of God's great Goodness they had suffer'd so little by the Storm. From whence our Author observes how apt People are to draw in Providence as favouring their respective Interests.

In the mean while, the Earl of *Melford*, and the Papists in the *English* Court, propos'd the taking up all suspected Persons, and sending them to *Portsmouth*: This *Sunderland* oppos'd with all his Might, pretending that it would be impossible to seize them all, and this would but drive those over to the Prince who should not be secur'd; he advis'd his Majesty rather to do such popular Things as might give the Nation Satisfaction. Whereupon the Popish Party charg'd *Sunderland* with insinuating himself into the King's Councils, in order to betray them. They observ'd he had before diverted them from accepting that Assistance which was offer'd his Majesty from *France*, and now he oppos'd the securing those who were most likely to join the Prince of *Orange* at his landing; upon these Representations the King turn'd him out of all his Places, and the Lord *Preston* was made Secretary of State.

The *English* Grand Fleet now put to Sea, we are told, and our Author thinks if they had happen'd to meet with the *Dutch*, they would probably have been an Overmatch for them, the *Dutch* having so great a Fleet of Transports under their Convoy. The Troops in *Scotland* were at this time brought into *England*, and several Regiments came from *Ireland*, whereby the King's Army was increas'd to thirty thousand Men.

The King call'd the Bishops together, and represented to them the Injustice of this unnatural Invasion, and assur'd them of his Kindness for the Church

of *England*, and that he never intended any thing more than the procuring a universal Liberty of Conscience; and requir'd they should declare their Abhorrence of this Invasion, and give him their Advice in this Exigency. The Abhorrence they declin'd, but advis'd the summoning a Parliament, the dissolving the Ecclesiastical Commission, and reversing the Proceedings against the Bishop of *London*, and *Magdalen* College, and that the Laws might take their due Course. These Things they represented with that Gravity and Courage as acquir'd them the Esteem of the whole Nation: They were desir'd by his Majesty to compose a Form of Prayers upon the Invasion; which were so drawn, our Author observes, that those who wish'd well to the Prince might have join'd in them. Nor did the Church Party stick to express their Approbation of the Prince's Expedition, and their Concern whenever the Wind prov'd contrary: They shew'd their Contempt also at the Methods taken by the Court, to recover the Peoples Affections, which were so apparently forc'd that none could be deceiv'd by them, our Author thinks, but those who had a mind to it. Writs were often prepar'd for calling a Parliament, and as often recall'd; the old Charters were order'd to be restor'd, and *Jesseries* himself carried the City of *London* their Charter, pretending much Joy and Heartiness upon the Occasion; but all Men saw thro' it. The President of *Magdalen* College was order'd to be restor'd; but upon Advice that the *Dutch* Fleet was driven back, this Order was countermanded; which shew'd, our Author observes, how long this Compliance of the Court was like to last.

The Weather continued so stormy, that it was the 1st of *November*, O. S. before the *Dutch* Fleet could put to Sea again; they endeavour'd to have sail'd *Northward*, but the Wind being contrary, a Signal

was made the next Day for standing to the *West*, a strong Gale blowing full *East*, which as it was serviceable to the Prince, so it prevented the *English* Fleet coming out of the River: On the third of *November* the *Dutch* Fleet sail'd between *Dover* and *Calais*, and came in Sight of the Isle of *Wight* that Evening; the next Day being the Prince's Birthday, he would have landed, apprehending the Soldiers would look upon it as auspicious; but our Author, and those about him, were rather for landing on the fifth of *November*, which they thought might have a better Effect on the Minds of the *English*. Orders were given to the Pilots, that they should take Care not to sail beyond *Dartmouth* in the Night, for it was design'd that some Ships should land the Troops on board them there, and that the rest should sail to *Torbay*; but the next Morning they found they were past both *Dartmouth* and *Torbay*, and the Wind continuing *Easterly*, they were apprehensive they should have been forc'd to sail as far as *Phymouth*, and they were uncertain what Reception they should have met with from the Governor the Earl of *Bath*; and besides, they should have been under a Necessity of undergoing the Fatigues of a Winter's Campaign in a very ill Country. Upon this Misfortune *Russel* bid our Author go to his Prayers, for all was lost; but on a sudden the Wind turn'd to the *South*, and carry'd the whole Fleet in four Hours Time into *Torbay*. The Infantry were landed that Evening, and our Author made what Haste he could to the Prince's Quarters, he says, who took him by the Hand, and ask'd him, if he did not believe *Predestination*; to which he answer'd, he should never forget that Providence which had appear'd so signally for them. The next Morning the Horse were all landed in three Hours Time, about a Quarter of a Mile from the Village

Village of *Braxholm*, and a properer Place, he thinks, could not have been found for it in the whole Island, nor a calmer Season for disembarking them: They were no sooner landed, than a great Storm blew from the *West*, which prevented the King's Fleet pursuing them further than the Isle of *Wight*; and their own Fleet was so cover'd by the Land, that they received no Damage, while the *English* Fleet were shatter'd by the Storm, and forc'd into *Portsmouth* to refit. This was the greater Providence, our Author says, for that notwithstanding what had been given out, the *L. Dartmouth* assur'd him, that both the Officers and Seamen would have fought very heartily.

The Prince hasten'd his March to *Exeter*, where he remain'd a Week before any of the Gentlemen of the Country came in to him: The Bishop and Dean run away, and the Clergy kept at a distance, though the Prince spoke gently to them: The Doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance had been so inculcated, that they could not easily reconcile themselves to the Lawfulness of opposing their Sovereign, yet Care was taken to protect them, and this was committed to our Author.

The Lord *Colchester*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Rivers*, the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Russel*, Brother to the Lord *Russel*, and the Earl of *Abington*, were the first Men of Quality who came over to the Prince; and Advice came that the Lord *Cornbury* and Colonel *Langston* with three Regiments were advancing, but that they were not sure of their subaltern Officers; whereupon the Prince sent some Troops to meet them; but when the Lord *Cornbury* was come within twenty Miles of *Exeter*, and within two of that Body, a Whisper run among his Troops that they were betray'd; whereupon almost two Regiments rode back again, but he brought over one entire Regiment, and about a hundred of the other

two, which mightily encourag'd the Prince's Troops.

The King being now at *Salisbury*, his Spirits were extremely funk, and his Blood in such a Ferment, that he bled much at the Nose every Day: He employ'd Spies to get Intelligence of the Prince's Strength and Motions, but they all deserted him, and join'd the Prince. The City of *London* he understood were very unquiet: The Earls of *Devonshire* and *Darby*, and the Lord *Lumley*, had rais'd great Bodies in the *North*, as the Lord *Delamere* had in *Cheshire*, and the Nation in general discover'd an Inclination to the Prince. The ill Disposition of the Army was also evident; but what confounded him more than all the rest, was the Lord *Churchill's* and the Duke of *Grafton's* deserting him, for now he knew not whom to rely on. Soon after Prince *George* and the Duke of *Ormond* went over to the Prince; whereupon the Princess *Anne* began to be in great dread of her Father's Resentment, and with the Lady *Churchill*, and the Bishop of *London*, about Midnight, fled from Court, and went to *Northampton*, where a small Army was assembled, who chose to be under the Command of the Bishop of *London*; and this, our Author thinks, he too readily accepted.

Sir *Edward Seymour* and several other Gentlemen coming over to the Prince, propos'd the entring into an Association, which was sign'd by all the Gentlemen at *Exeter*. It contain'd a Resolution to pursue the Ends of the Prince's Declaration, and to revenge themselves upon any that should attempt his Life, which our Author drew up. The King having left *Exeter* and *Devonshire* to the Government of *Seymour*, advanc'd with his Army, and was met by Dr. *Finch*, Son to the Earl of *Winchelsea*, who was sent from the University of *Oxford*, to assure him,

him, they would declare for him, and that their Plate should be at his Service, if he wanted it.

The King being return'd from *Salisbury* to *London*, the Prince made all the Haste he could after him, and a Declaration being publish'd in the Prince's Name, requiring all Persons to fall upon such Papists as were in Employments, and dispossess them, and to secure all strong Places, and to put the Laws in execution, this put the City of *London* into a Flame; the Mob assembled, and fell upon all Mass Houses, but no Blood was shed, or much Mischief done besides: This Declaration was not set out, our Author tells us, by the Prince, nor was it ever known who was the Author of it, though it produc'd wonderful Effects, as he tells us the Ballad of *Lillibullero* did among the Soldiers, and the common People.

The King assembled the Privy Counsellors and Peers about Town, who advis'd him to send Commissioners to treat with the Prince, and accordingly he sent the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, to know what it was the Prince demanded. The Marquis of *Halifax* ask'd our Author privately, *if they had a Mind to have the King in their Hands*; to which he answer'd, *No*. He ask'd next if they had a Mind he should go away; to which he answer'd, *nothing was more wished for*; of both which Answers the Prince approv'd: But to the Message the King had sent, the Prince answer'd, *that he desir'd the Parliament should be call'd; that no unqualify'd Person should be in Office; that the Tower of London should be put into the Possession of the City; that the Fleet and strong Towns should be in the Hands of Protestants, and that part of the Revenue should be assign'd to pay the Prince's Army; that neither of the Armies should come*
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within

An EXAMINATION of

within twenty Miles of London during the sitting of the Parliament, but that the King and the Prince might be there with an equal Number of Guards about their Persons.

These were better Terms, our Author says, than the King expected; but the Priests and all the violent Papists apprehending they must be made a Sacrifice, and that they should never be able to retrieve their Game again, prevail'd with the King and Queen to leave the Kingdom, and endeavour to restore his Affairs by a *French* Power: The Queen embark'd on Board a Man of War at *Portsmouth*, and soon after arriv'd in *France* with the Pretender: The Midwife also, and all that were at the Birth, were either carry'd over, or dispos'd of where they were never heard of more. The King having receiv'd the Prince's Answer, the next Morning, being the 10th of *December*, went away in Disguise, as a Servant to Sir *Edward Hales*: As they pass'd the River they threw the Great Seal into it, which was found some Months after, and went on Board a Fishing Boat, which Sir *Edward Hales* had provided to carry them to *France*; and now, according to our Author, the King's Reign ended; for he plainly deserted his People, he says, and expos'd the Nation to the Plunder of his Army, which he had order'd to be disbanded: He was taken with Sir *Edward Hales* by some Fishermen of *Feverham*, and carry'd to that Town: Had he got clear away, our Author thinks, he would not have had a Party left in the Nation, for all would have agreed this was a Desertion, and the People were now at Liberty to secure themselves; but what follow'd afterwards gave the Jacobites a Colour to say, that he was driven out of his Kingdoms by Force.

Upon

Upon the King's going away the Mob rose again at *London*, and broke into all Houses where they suspected there were any Priests or Papists, not sparing the Houses of Ambassadors. *Jefferies* apprehending the Rage of the People, had disguis'd himself in order to make his Escape, but was taken by some who knew him, and insulted with all the Rudeness they could invent; after which they carry'd him before the Lord Mayor, requiring his Lordship to commit him to the *Tower*: The Lord Mayor was so terrify'd by the Rabble, and under such a Consternation at the Lord Chancellor's being brought before him, that, our Author says, he fell into Fits, and dy'd soon after.

Upon these Disorders, the Privy Counsellors and Peers, among whom was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, assembled at *Guildhall*, and having given Orders for keeping the Peace, sent an Invitation to the Prince to take the Administration of the Government into his Hands.

The Prince hereupon hasten'd towards *London*, and being arriv'd at *Windsor*, two *Kentish* Gentlemen came thither, giving an Account of the King's being taken at *Feverham*, and desiring to know the Prince's Pleasure upon it. They apply'd themselves to our Author, who procur'd Monsieur *Bentinck* to awaken the Prince, and give him an Account of this Accident, and *Zuylenstein* was order'd to go to *Feverham* and see the King was safe, and give him his Liberty to go whether he pleas'd; but in the mean Time the Privy Council had assembled at *London*, and the Earl of *Feverham* was order'd down with the Guards and the King's Coaches to fetch the King from *Feverham*, and as he came back through the City, his Majesty was welcomed with great Expressions of Joy, and had a great Court about him at *Whitehall*. He begun, our Author says,

says, to talk in his usual high Strain, and justify all he had done, but order'd the Lord *Feverſham* to go to the Prince at *Windsor*, and deſire him to come to *St. James's*, and conſult with him what was proper to be done for the Settlement of the Nation; but the Prince inſtead of returning any Answer made the Earl of *Feverſham* a Priſoner, and ſent Orders for diſplacing the *Engliſh* Guards about *Whitehall*, and putting the *Dutch* in their room; after which the Lords *Halifax*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Delamere* came to the King at Midnight, when he was a Bed, and told him, that the Prince's Affairs requir'd his coming to *London*, and that he thought it would be for the Safety of the King's Perſon to remove out of Town, and propos'd his going to *Ham*, and that he ſhould be attended with a Guard, who ſhould give him no Diſturbance. The King only deſir'd that he might go to *Rocheſter* inſtead of *Ham*, which the Prince apprehended was in order to a ſecond Escape, and very readily conſented to it. Accordingly the King went the next Day to *Rocheſter* with a *Dutch* Guard, whom our Author obſerves were moſt of them Papiſts, and went very devoutly to Maſs with him; and the Captain being ask'd how they could ſerve in an Expedition deſign'd to deſtroy their own Religion, he reply'd, *his Soul was God's, but his Sword was the Prince of Orange's*.

Except theſe laſt Steps, the Revolution was generally applauded by the Nation, our Author obſerves, but it was ſaid to be an unnatural Thing to awaken the King out of his Sleep at Midnight, and order him out of his Palace, when he was ready to have ſubmitted to any Thing that could have been demanded: That the Perſon of the King was now ſtruck at as well as his Government, and they remember'd the ſaying of King *Charles* the Firſt, *that there*

there was but a little Distance between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes, and that this specious Undertaking would now appear to be only a disguis'd and design'd Usurpation.

Never was any Army, our Author observes, under better Discipline than that of the *Dutch*; never were fewer Disorders committed in a March, or about the Town, when they were quarter'd in the Suburbs of *London*; no Papists or Jacobites were insulted; our Author had Orders to protect the Papists from Violence, and he fully redress'd all the Complaints that were made to him; he procur'd Passes for all that would go beyond Sea, and took Care of two Popish Bishops in *Newgate*.

At the Prince's coming to Town, the Bishops and Clergy, and all the considerable Bodies came to wait on him, only the Archbishop of *Canterbury* absented himself. Sergeant *Maynard*, who was near ninety Years of Age, with the Lawyers, waiting on the Prince, the Prince told him, *that he had outliv'd all Men of the Law of his Time*; to which the Sergeant reply'd, *if his Highness had not come over, he had outliv'd the Law itself*.

The Prince having assembled the Peers and Members of the three last Parliaments who were in Town, with some of the Citizens of *London*, demanded their Advice for the Settlement of the Nation; whereupon they desir'd him to take upon him the Administration of the Government for the present, and to send circular Letters instead of Writs for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament.

The King having remain'd at *Rocheſter* a Week, and having receiv'd a Letter from the Queen pressing his coming over, he gave secret Orders for preparing a Vessel, and having left a Paper behind him, reproaching the Nation for deserting him; and declaring, that though he went to seek foreign Assistance

Assistance to restore him to his Throne, he should not make use of it to the Prejudice of their Laws or Religion: He embarked the 31st of *December*, and arriv'd soon after in *France*. When the News of the King's Desertion came to *Scotland*, that whole Kingdom, except the Castle of *Edinburgh*, declar'd for the Prince; but the Presbyterians of the Western Counties, thinking that the Time was come that they should not only procure their own Liberty, but be reveng'd on their Enemies, they were guilty of great Insolence and Cruelties to the Episcopal Clergy, carry'd them about their Parishes in mock Processions, tore off their Gowns, and drove them from their Churches and Houses. The Episcopal Clergy having address'd King *James* upon the *Dutch Fleet's* being driven back by a Storm, and express'd their Abhorrence of the Prince's Enterprize, they lay now under a great Cloud, our Author observes, and therefore resolv'd to shelter themselves under the Earl of *Dundee*, who was a good Officer. In the mean Time the *Scotch Nobility* about *London* desir'd the Prince to take upon him the Government of *Scotland*, in much the same Terms the *English* had done.

Ireland seem'd to be in the worst Condition; *Tyrconnel* commanding there, and having issued Commissions for levying thirty thousand Men, many apprehended there would have been a Massacre of the Protestants there; many fled into *England*, and some of them possess'd themselves of *Londonderry* and *Inniskillin*, which were the only Towns in the Possession of the Prince's Friends: They resolv'd to run all Hazards, and defend themselves till Relief should come from *England*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much depended on by the *Irish* Protestants, we are told, who apply'd to the Prince by him; but Sir *William Temple* proposing to bring *Tyrconnel* to a

Treaty

Treaty, to deliver up that Kingdom, the Earl of *Clarendon* was neglected; and from that time he became a violent Enemy to the Prince, and reconciled himself again to King *James*. The Prince was much blam'd that he did not endeavour more effectually to prevent a Revolt in *Ireland*; but the *English* Army beginning to grow discontented here, he durst not trust them. He was afraid if he detach'd any of them to *Ireland*, they would have join'd *Tyrconnel*; and if he had sent any of the *Dutch* to *Ireland*, and the *English* had mutiny'd, he should have been in great Danger. And he thought that the *Temples* might have prevail'd with *Tyrconnel* to have deliver'd up that Kingdom; but *Tyrconnel* deceiv'd them, and all his Pretences of treating appear'd to be only to gain Time. The *Temples* finding themselves over-reach'd, and that the Prince as well as themselves had been impos'd upon, it was believ'd this had such an Effect on Sir *William Temple's* Son, that it occasioned his drowning himself in the *Thames*, he having no other visible Cause of Discontent.

When the Convention met, there appear'd to be three Parties in it, one of them was for recalling the King, and treating with him for such Security for their Religion and Laws, as might put them out of Danger for the future.

A second Party held that King *James* by his illegal Administration had disabled himself to exercise his sovereign Authority in his own Person; but as in the Case of a Lunatick, tho' the Right still remain'd in him, the Guardianship or Exercise of the Government might be lodg'd in the Prince of *Orange* as Regent. Another Party was for setting King *James* by entirely, and settling the Prince of *Orange* on the Throne. The Proposition in which they all agreed at last, was, that both the Prince and Princess should be joint Sovereigns, but that the Administration should

should be singly in the Prince. The Princess remain'd all this time in *Holland*: Whereupon the Prince's Enemies gave out that she was kept there to prevent her claiming her Right. The Earl of *Danby* sent over to her to give her an Account of the present Debates, and to let her know, if she desir'd it, he did not doubt they should be able to set her alone upon the Throne: To which she answer'd, she was the Prince's Wife, and would never be other than what she should be in Conjunction with him, and under him, and should take it very unkindly of any one who should endeavour to separate their Interests; and sent both the Lord *Danby's* Letter, and her Answer to the Prince, which discourag'd all future Attempts of that Nature.

The Prince continu'd very reserv'd upon the Subject for a while. At length he sent for the Marquiss of *Halifax*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and told them he had been silent a great while, because he would not influence their Debates; he observ'd that some were for putting the Government into the Hands of a Regent; but he thought it necessary to tell them that he should not accept that Post; that others were for putting the Princess into the Throne singly; but he would neither think of holding it by Apron-Strings, nor would he take any Share in the Government, unless it was lodg'd in his own Person for Term of Life; if they thought fit to settle it otherways, he would return to *Holland*, and meddle no more with their Affairs. He would consent indeed, that the Issue of the Princess *Anne* should succeed before any Issue he might have by any other Wife than the Princess. All this he spoke in so unconcern'd a Manner, that it was look'd on as a Piece of Artifice, and did not contribute a little, our Author thinks, to bring the Debate at *Westminster* to a Conclusion.

It was propos'd to examine into the Birth of the pretended Prince, which might have gone far, our Author thinks, in satisfying the weaker Sort of People; and he was order'd to prepare the Evidence. And though it might not amount to a full and legal Proof, yet there were such violent Presumptions, he thinks, that when they were all laid together, they were more convincing than plain downright Evidence; but it being observ'd, that King *James* by going about to prove the Birth, having done it defectively, render'd it more suspicious than it was before: So here, if the Imposture should not be made out beyond any possibility of Contradiction, it would strengthen the Belief of his Birth; therefore when this Matter was mention'd in the House of Lords, it was rejected with Indignation. It was said, he was now sent out of *England* to be bred in *France*, which was an Enemy both to our Religion and Nation: And the People of *England* could never be satisfy'd, whether it was the same Person that was carried over; if he should die another might be plac'd in his Room; so that we could have no Certainty concerning him: besides, that all Persons who were intrusted with this Matter were convey'd away, and there was no Means left to find out the Truth of the Birth.

There were some who thought it would be a good Security to the Nation to have a dormant Title remain, for that our Princes would be oblig'd to govern the better, being in Danger of a Revolt; and they thought it no ill Precedent to see the Right of Succession so neglected, as not to enquire after it: But this our Author observes put a plausible Objection in the Mouths of the Jacobites, who now said, there was an Infant condemn'd, and deny'd his Right, without either Proof or Enquiry.

The two Houses coming to a Resolution, at length, to set the Prince and Princess of *Orange* upon the Throne,

Throne, and to lodge the Power solely in the Prince; an Instrument was drawn up, enumerating the Heads of King *James's* Male-Administration; whereupon the Vote of Abdication was founded, and the Oath of Allegiance was to be alter'd. It was agreed, that the Subject should only swear to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King or Queen; the Intent whereof was, that whether People were satisfy'd or not with the advancing of the King and Queen to the Throne, yet when they were now plac'd there, they would be true to them, and defend them; but many understood by it, that they were only oblig'd to obey them as Usurpers, while they remain'd in quiet Possession; but that they were not restrain'd from assisting King *James*, if he should attempt to recover his Crown. And it is visible, our Author says, that many of the Clergy, as well as others, took the Oath in this Sense. He thinks they had so entangled themselves with those Notions of Divine Right, and the Unlawfulness of Resistance on any Pretence, that they did not know how to disengage themselves in Honour and Conscience.

Another Notion was advanc'd, which brought in many, he says, which was, that the Prince had just Cause to make War upon the King. And that in a just War an Appeal is made to God, and the Success is consider'd as the Decision of Heaven. And by this Conquest of King *James*, his Right was transferr'd to the Prince, tho' they held it was no Conquest of the Nation, because they had neither wrong'd or resisted him; and the Prince as to them was no Conqueror, but a Preserver and Deliverer.

The very Night before the Throne was to be fill'd, the Princess of *Orange* arriv'd at *Whitehall*; and it being given out that she was not well pleas'd with the late Transactions, the Prince had written to her, that she would appear as cheerful as she could, that no body

dy might apprehend her to be uneasy; and accordingly she appear'd with great Gaiety in her Looks; which made her censur'd by some People, and particularly by our Author; who thought a little more Seriousness would have done as well when she came to her Father's Palace, and was to be plac'd on his Throne the next Day; whereupon our Author took Notice to her of it, and she reply'd, *she had a lively Sense of these Things upon her Thoughts, but that the Prince's Letters oblig'd her to put on that Cheerfulness*; and the next Day the Prince and Princess were declar'd King and Queen.

Our Author in Conclusion imputes most of the Miscarriages of the late Reign to the spiteful Humours of a revengeful *Italian* Queen, and the ill-laid, and worse manag'd Projects of some hot meddling Priests; whereby, he observes, they ruin'd a Prince, who, if he had not deliver'd himself up to such Counsels, might have made a better Figure in History.

R E M A R K S.

As our Author appears to be the prime Mover in most of the remarkable Turns which have happen'd in *Britain* in his Time, we find him, *p. 757*, laying the Scheme of the Protestant Succession, and of settling the Crown in the illustrious House, that now enjoys it; which shews a prodigious Talent at discovering future Events; for this was more than any Mortal besides himself dreamt of at that Time; and unless the Doctor did really propose the driving King *James* out of his Dominions without any further Ceremony, he would not then have taken upon him to foretell that great Event; for the avow'd Design of the Prince's Expedition was no more than to call a free Parliament, and procure us Security for our

Vol. IV. Y y y Religion.

Religion and Liberties: He declar'd, he had no ambitious Views, and therefore we cannot suppose that he had any Intention of dethroning his Father; nor could any one have thought the King would have abandon'd three Kingdoms, rather than give his People Satisfaction as to their Religious and Civil Rights. These were Things which none but a *North Briton* well skill'd in second Sight could have foreseen at this Distance. The Project therefore, as he makes the Duke of *Hanover* observe, was exceeding remote: Here was a King and Queen not too old for Children: Here were two young Princesses as likely to have Children as most Ladies, and till the Nation despair'd of Issue from any of these, which I believe few, except Dr. *Burnet*, then did, it must appear a very slender Encouragement for a Prince to break his Alliances upon; and indeed the Doctor seems to intimate, that the Duke of *Hanover* did not lay any great Stress upon the Intimation he gave him. But however that be, it is very certain that our Author would have been very proud of having it recorded, that he projected the *Hanover* Succession, which has prov'd such an inestimable Blessing to the Nation; and since no other Writer would do him the Honour to ascribe it to him, he has taken an Opportunity of transmitting this piece of History to us himself, that we might not be ignorant how great a Benefactor he was to the *British* Nation, as well as to that illustrious Family.

The next great Design we find our Author engag'd in, is the new modelling the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration. It seems, he had not a much greater Opinion of the *Dutch* Wits, than he had of those in *Britain*: Even his great Friend Mynheer *Fagel*, he tells us at last, was but a dull heavy Fellow, and if our Author had not corrected his Draught, the Prince's

Prince's Declaration would have been a very dull Performance. To talk of the Civil Law and the Law of Nations, in such an Expedition as that of the Prince of *Orange's*, he look'd upon as exceeding stupid; their Business was rather to apply to the Hopes and Fears of the People they were about to deliver, and shew them the Danger of being made Catholicks and Slaves. Our Author, it seems, as a Supplement to the Declaration, drew up a Paper, shewing the People that they were no longer oblig'd to submit, and that all that he and the rest of the Clergy had been preaching about Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance for twenty Years past, was only meant of such Princes as did not encroach upon their Religious and Civil Rights; for bad Princes they might and ought to resist; and this was indeed exceeding kind and charitable in the Doctor, for the ignorant People would otherwise have been apt to infer from his own Sermons, that they ought not to resist upon any Pretence whatsoever. Our Author therefore, in order to set them right, and by his Practice remedy the Mischief his Doctrine had done, engag'd in the Expedition himself, against a Prince, to whom, he acknowledges, he had the highest Obligations; but this possibly might proceed from that extream Tendernefs he professes for King *James*; He had formerly serv'd him in Quality of Confessor, and finding softer Arguments could not move him to forsake that bloody Religion, he was willing to try if Dragooning might not have a better Effect upon him.

Whatever the Prince of *Orange's* Thoughts might be of bringing over an Army superior to the King's, it is very evident he did not. The *Dutch* were very well assur'd of the Revolt of great part of the King's Army, or they would not have been so wonderful confident of Success, as our Author tells.

us they were. The King's Army, if they had been faithful to him, would have been able to have driven three such Armies into the Sea as the Prince brought with him; but our Author cannot get rid of that favourite Notion of Conquest, which he seem'd to apprehend the surest Title, and in which all Men he thought might acquiesce.

But he has given us to understand, that we are not so infinitely oblig'd to the *Dutch* for this friendly Assistance, as some have imagin'd: It was self Preservation, it seems, which put them upon this Enterprize; they saw that if *France* and *England* should unite against them, their State would in all Probability be ruin'd, and therefore they thought it necessary to take *England* out of the Hands of a Prince who was so firmly ally'd to *France*; so that the Doctor gives us room to conjecture, that they really design'd from the beginning to give us a new King. What else can he mean by their taking *England* out of the Hands of this Prince? Nor can I see why he should mince the Matter, and pretend that the Expedition was only to bring him to Terms, when it has been declar'd in Parliament, that by his illegal and arbitrary Government, he abdicated, or forfeited his Crown; if this were so, where was the Hurt in assisting the Princess of *Orange*, whom they look'd upon to be the next Heir, to mount the Throne, that her Father had forfeited by his Male-Administration?

Our Author has discover'd another great Instance of his Concern for the *British* Nation; namely, in his persuading the Princess of *Orange* to exclude her self from any share in the Government, and compliment the Prince with the sole Administration. But, it seems, the Prince did not altogether rely upon this; for, we are told, he let his Friends understand, that unless the Government was lodg'd in him.

him he would return to *Holland*, and leave them to shift for themselves, which gave them such terrible Apprehensions, that they immediately agreed to the Proposal; and whatever Arguments might have been us'd in relation to the Abdication in the two Houses, our Author seems to hint, that this Resolution of the Prince's determin'd their Debates. However, we must acknowledge our selves oblig'd to our Author, that he endeavour'd to take us out of the Hands of a weak Woman, and procure us so glorious a Prince, whose Judgment, he tells us, was such, that *he could not err*: Such a one was surely to be preferr'd, though a Foreigner, to any *British* Princess. He imputes it to an unlucky Frost which prevented her coming over till the Matter was determin'd; but had she appear'd sooner, she was so submissive a Wife, that nothing could have been apprehended from her Presence on this side: She seem'd to have a Load upon her Spirits indeed when the Troops were embark'd, and the Gaiety she appear'd with at her Arrival, was but put on, we are told, by the Command of her Husband, that the People might not think her discontented with what was transacted; and tho' she was never so well satisfy'd with the Justice of the Expedition, it might well depress her Spirits, to see a kind Father and a tender Husband about to engage in a bloody War, and her native Country like to be made a Scene of Horror and Confusion; and though this great Revolution was effected in so amazing a manner, without striking a Stroke, yet when she came to mount her Father's Throne, and found him driven into Exile, well might it shock our Author to see this Princess put on an Appearance of Joy; for nothing but the rescuing these Kingdoms from Tyranny and Oppression could have prevail'd with her, 'tis to be presum'd, to desert so kind a Father. What-

ever Errors he had committed, it did not become his Children, to make them or his Misfortunes the Subject of their Mirth; though she might rejoice she had sav'd the People from Destruction, she could not but inwardly mourn her Father's Fate; and wisely did the Nation accept her Offer of vesting all the Power in the Prince; for who knows how the Piety and filial Duty of the Princess might have been wrought upon by crafty Men, with plausible Pretences, and have induc'd her to undo what had been accomplish'd with so much Labour and Hazard.

Whether the Lord *Sunderland* design'd that great Good to the Nation he was the Occasion of, or not, I shall not dispute; but had King *James* either accepted *French* Troops, or secur'd the Chief of the Prince of *Orange's* Friends, Things might have taken another Turn than they did, both which pieces of Advice the Bishop assures us the Lord *Sunderland* frustrated; and when we see him first turning Papist, not out of any Principle (our Author assures us) but to gain the Queen's Confidence, and then with the same Dexterity becoming a Protestant again at the Revolution, and after some decent Time made Prime Minister to King *William*; these Circumstances, it must be confess'd, might have given Colour to suspect his Integrity, if our Author had not assur'd us he was in another Interest.

That noble and heroick Behaviour of the Archbishop and his Suffragans, which our Author himself takes Notice of here, deserves to be admir'd; when King *James* had an Army of thirty thousand disciplin'd Troops entire, a Fleet able to have driven the *Dutch* back to their Coasts, and the Offers of what foreign Troops he needed; in these Circumstances, says our Author, did the Bishops represent

sent the Grievances of the Nation to his Majesty, with that Gravity and Courage, as gain'd them the Esteem of the whole Nation; and yet what lazy, unactive, sensual Drones has he made them in other Parts of his History, insomuch, that if some young Divines of our Author's Class had not arisen, all Religion must have been lost? Nay, he tells us but a little after, p. 810. that the Archbishop, who appear'd at the Head of these Bishops, and consequently ran the greatest Hazard, was a *poor-spirited fearful Man*; so extremely consistent with himself is our Reverend Author. But nothing is more obvious in this History, than that the greatest Men, when they happen to be in an Interest our Author does not approve, immediately dwindle into the most contemptible of Mortals, how fam'd soever they may have been for their Courage or other Virtues before. Upon the frequent Turn of the Winds, the Storms and Calms, which favour'd the Prince's Expedition, our Author could not avoid breaking out in a kind of enthusiastick Rapture, repeating the Words of the Poet, *O nimium dilecte Deo!* &c. And surely never any Thing has had that mighty Influence on Armies, and even whole Nations, as the possessing the People with a Belief that their Governors are the Favourites of Heaven: Admit but this, as the Papists insist you should Infallibility in their Church, and every Thing else will follow. See, says the Doctor, how favourable the Winds were to us! See how they detain'd the King's Fleet in the River, while they wast'd us to our desir'd Port! nay, when we had over-shot it a little, the Winds on a sudden turn'd again, and soon repair'd the Mistake we had made. When we came to land our Troops then was a perfect Calm, and when that was over such a Storm succeeded, as shatter'd the King's Fleet to pieces, and prevented their

falling on the *Dutch*. Add to this, that this happen'd in the Year 88, just a hundred Years after the *Spanish* Invasion, when our Religion was in equal Hazard, and upon the very fifth of *November* wherein the King and Parliament had so notable an Escape from Gun-Powder; surely, after this, there could be no doubt of the Justice of the Cause: These were Arguments levell'd to the Understandings of the common People. To talk of the Laws of Nations, or the Original Contract, would but have puzzled their Brains: Whether the Prince and his Friends were in the right, or not, it was past their Capacities to unravel; but when they were assur'd that Providence thus kindly interpos'd to save them from Racks and Gibbets, from Fire and Faggot, and all the Cruelties of an Inquisition, these were sensible Arguments, and such as were not to be resisted; and it is observable, that among all the dextrous Managers of the Rabble, none of them ever apply to their Reason, but their Passions. Not but that the Revolution had all the Reason in the World on its side, but the common People were not capable of understanding it on the sudden, and before it had been beaten into them, a happy Opportunity might have been lost. There is no doubt, but more of them were convinc'd of King *James's* cruel Designs by the Alarm that was given of an *Irish* Massacre, than by all the Debates in either of the Houses of Parliament.

And nothing could be more happy sure, than that this should be transacted in the Year 88, we having been so extreamly lucky in 88 once before, and on the very fifth of *November*, when the Nation met with just such another Deliverance. But methinks our Author was mighty short, when he omitted that notable Remark of the Reverend Mr. *Egbert's*, that the Seconds have ever been unfortu-

nate:

nate: There was *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Second, and now *James* the Second, and I know not how many Seconds that have been very unlucky, and therefore Princes will do well to take Care of the Number Two, for there is certainly some Magick in it.

To proceed; the Bishop of *Exeter* and the Dean, we are told, run away upon the Approach of the Prince, and the rest of the Clergy were in a great Consternation: They had been so entangled with Notions of Passive Obedience, that they knew not how to disengage themselves; and though 'tis true these poor Men ought to be pitied, for their Mistakes and Ignorance of those Reserves and nice Distinctions our Author always had in Store, yet it shews that they were honest Men, and did not reserve one Sense to themselves, and impose another on their Audience. It shews also, what Notion the generality of the Clergy had of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, before their Eyes were enlighten'd by the Revolution; afterwards indeed, when our Author and his Brethren had explain'd themselves upon that Subject, we found the Principle of Non-Resistance not attended with those dismal Consequences People formerly apprehended it was. For the future we need not dread Popery or Tyranny breaking in upon us, but whenever our Princes make any Attempt on our Religion or Properties, the Nation has an establish'd Precedent to govern themselves by; nay, we are absolv'd from our Allegiance by Act of Parliament, if the King happens but to marry a Papist, so that every Prince who has any Expectation of the Crown of *England*, will, 'tis presum'd, be very well assur'd the Lady he proposes for a Wife is a stanch Protestant, before he makes any Advances in the Way of Courtship,

But surely our Author took little Care to inform himself how the Queen and her Son were convey'd to *France*, for he tells us they went in a Man of War from *Portsmouth*; whereas, both Dr. *Kennet* and Mr. *Echard* assure us, they embarqu'd on Board a Yacht at *Gravesend*. But however he might be mistaken in this Article, he is very positive that all that were at the Birth were sent over or dispatch'd, which is an Instance of the Treacherousness of the Doctor's Memory; for if he had spoken consistently with what he had told us before, he would have said, those three Women who furnish'd the Court with new born Children, and all that were at their respective Deliveries, or in the Secret, were carry'd over, or knock'd on the Head; for if any one of them had been left behind, the Imposture would have been in Danger of being detected. To proceed; either our Author does not allow the Parliament that was held in King *James's* Reign to be a legal Parliament, or he mistakes, when he tells us, the Prince of *Orange* summon'd the Members of the three last Parliaments to attend him; for only such as had been Members in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second were summon'd, for what Reason does not appear; for King *James's* Parliament had oppos'd the taking off the Test, and employing recusant Officers, with as much Zeal as any of the other.

In *Scotland*, it seems, the Episcopal Clergy had not the same Reason to rejoice at this great Deliverance which was effected at the Revolution, as their Brethren in the *South*; they now came under that Discipline our Author so often intimates they deserv'd; they were dispossest'd of their Preferments and Freeholds without any Form of Law, their Houses plunder'd, their Persons abus'd, and all sorts of Cruelties exercis'd upon them; insomuch that had Popery, or
what

what would have come, they could not have been in a worse Condition; nay, they came under much greater Disabilities and Hardships than even the Papists in this part of the Island; but since this was done by those meek Saints, whom our Author assures us, that whether they robb'd or murder'd their Neighbours, it was still in the Name of the Lord, he is not very severe upon the barbarous Treatment the Clergy met with from them: But what an Outcry would there have been rais'd, if the Brethren had suffer'd a tenth Part of this? Nay, the inflicting a small Penalty for not coming to Church has been thought such a grievous Oppression, that it was sufficient to justify a Rebellion in them. None can doubt of our Author's being *always Episcopal*, who observes that remarkable Tenderness he ever expresses to the Brethren; and surely, so great an Interest as he had in the Prince of *Orange*, and so much as he had merited at his Hands, if he had had the least Regard to the Church he profess'd himself to be of, he would have procur'd Episcopacy to have been confirm'd in that Kingdom, which was then legally establish'd there; or at least he would have skreen'd the Clergy from that barbarous Usage they had met with. To tell us that he protected the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who did not need his Protection, and yet abandon the Clergy of his own Nation to the Fury of their most implacable Enemies, must proceed either from his Negligence of them, and a Desire of seeing them suppress'd, or he had not that Interest in the Prince of *Orange* that he pretends to.

As to the Debates concerning the Abdication and Vacancy of the Throne, I shall not enlarge upon them here, because they will be found in the former Volumes of the *Review of the History of England*; but why Dr. *Burnet* should take so much Pains to
I prove

prove the Illegitimacy of the *Pretender*, when the Revolution seems to be founded entirely on another Bottom, I can't conceive.

It was resolv'd by the Convention to be inconsistent with the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom to have a Popish Prince upon the Throne; an irremovable Persuasion in a false Religion, it was held by many of the Nonjurors themselves, render'd a Prince as incapable of governing, as Lunacy or doating old Age, and in that Case the Government ought to devolve upon the next Heir. The next in Succession was look'd upon to be the Princess of *Orange*, and she consented the Prince her Husband should have the Administration. After them succeeded the Princess *Anne*, and now his Majesty King *George*, as the next Protestant Heir; so that here was no Election, no altering the Constitution, or breaking into the hereditary Course of Descent, any more than there would have been if King *James* and his Issue had been under any natural Incapacities; and none will affirm, where the next Heir assumes the Power upon the Distraction or Doatage of his Ancestors, that this can be call'd a breaking into the Line of Succession.

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